THE

KACHINS

RELIGION AND CUSTOMS

BY

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OF THE

PARIS FOREIGN MISSIONS

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FOREWORD

In the North and North-East of Burma are found the savage tribes, which the Burmese and after them the English call "Kachins." They call themselves *Chimpaws;* they pretend to come from the sources of the Irrawaddy; the fact is they come from the North, and that little by little they have succeeded in becoming the masters of the range of mountains, which they now inhabit, partly in Burma and partly in Yunnan.

The Kachins, properly so called, comprise five principal tribes : the Marips, the Lathongs, the Laphais, the Nkhums and the Marans. We may add to them the Marus, the Atsis and the Lâchyis, who live in the same countries and whose ways and customs are nearly the same. They worship a multitude of Nats or Spirits to whom they offer continually sacrifices of animals in order to appease them or secure their good will. They are living in a great number of villages presided over by a *du-wa,* who is a more or less influential chief according to his intelligence, but always looked up to, because, according to tradition, he descends from a race superior to that of the rest of men, and is the master of the land, which forms his territory.

FOREWORD

As I am working at the evangelisation of the Kauris, a sub-tribe of the Laphais, it is especially of them I shall speak; but what I shall say about them will nevertheless be more or less applicable to the Kachins in general.

Before writing about their ways and customs, I think it good to record their mythology as the *Jai-wa* (narrators of the traditions) transmit it to one another by word of mouth (the Kachins have no writing) and tell it to the people on great feast days. Besides, in those legends are found the origin and the explanation of a good number of superstitions and customs now existing. The old bard whom I luckily found takes four days and four nights narrating them. I will leave aside what is less important and abridge the two long stories, yet keeping what is essential and translating as far as possible the very words of the "grandfather," a name which age, rank and science have given in these parts to the *Jai-wa* of whom I speak.

Well, at the great solemnities, our grandfather puts on a long robe, covers his head with a helmet adorned with tusks of a wild boar and long feathers, asks the good spirits and the shades of his ancestors to come and sit down at his side to assist him, and majestically commences his recital.

C. G.

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PART I

FOLKLORE

CHAPTER I

GENERATIONS

1. PRINCIPLE OF ALL THAT EXISTS

First Generation

Formerly, it is long, very long ago, there was nothing of what nowadays exists. But there high up, very high up were :—

Wawm Wawm Samwi (mist, vapour, male element), and

Ningpang majan (female element), a sort of female bird.

They were living in different places, but little by little they came near to each other, took a walk together and gave birth to a great many children which are :—

(*a*) Din ding ka, earth;

Sing Sing Lamu, heaven (this is only a rough outline making as yet only a whole joined together);

Panang Kauka, great cutlass;
Sumkang Wumong, great lever;
Din Seng Baula, tom-tom;

Mu Shadawng,
Punbang Majawn,
Kaba Dankong,
Mu Madi Kabran,
Ka Madi Tokang,
} immense columns which will serve to separate heaven and earth.

Tauli Ningehy, knife;

Phry Nai Sumrawng ,lance blade;

Numlang Ukawng, scissors;

Mu Ngautong,
Ka Jinbong,
} extremities or borders of heaven and earth;

Phry Wintung, bar of iron;

Padang Lapu Mana Puthung, great serpent.

Seeing that big animal, Samur, his father, forbids him to stay with his brothers, then the serpent withdraws and rolls itself round the earth, chases its tail, which it takes for a prey and which runs away as the head advances; in this way it brings about earthquakes by its movements. Happily, later on, Ningkong Wa will frighten the serpent and forbid it to shake our globe too much.

Kaba Samyit, great needle;

Majoi Chimpong, Malang Tingrong, } arm-chair in which Karai Karang will come and sit;

Lamon Sumri, Lasa Sumtai, } ropes or vital nerves to support the earth and the inhabitants thereof;

Ja Untop, Kumprong Untop, } gold or silver fringes adorning the borders of heaven and earth;

Sinpi-U, Pilang Kuntung Usang, } great bird;

Shangai Rudun, Shingkai Chingchen, } floor;

Taitaw Ningtu, Dah, Kachin sword, used as a knife;

Taiju Pili, bamboo ties, strings.

Ninglum lawa and Ningthet majan, Mr. and Mrs. Heat (these are two spirits who, in the trial (judgment of God) by boiling water, take the side of the plaintiff and help to heat the caldron into which the accused is to plunge his hand).

Ningshung lawa and Ningtsi majan; Mr. and Mrs. Cold (these two side with the accused and exert them-

selves to cool the water so that their protégé may plunge his hand into it without burning himself).

Trong lawa and Tara majan, Mr. and Mrs. Justice (they make the accused triumph in the above mentioned trial).

(*b*) Ning Pang, gives later on birth to sons of a new kind :

Karai Kasand, God?
Phan Nongsang, Creator.
Cheng Ningchang, Omniscient.
Plan dum Sakia, God.
Jau dum Phara, God.
Samhpwi Nang majan.

These are very great spirits. Samhpwi Nang majan is female, and with her saliva can communicate life (nsa).

Later on we shall see them often animate matter. Karai Kasang dressed in golden clothing, occupies, above the heavens, the magnificent arm-chair (majoi chimpang malang tingrong). He holds in his hands lamon sumri, lasa sumtai, strings or vital nerves of the earth and of all the inhabitants thereof. According to the side to which he turns himself, he is called by different names :

Karai Kasang, Phan Ningsang, etc.

This Great Spirit is the Supreme Being of the Kachins; later on I will make him known in greater detail.

Remark.—I have also consulted about the origins of everything the Jai-wa of Lamaiban, who, I was told, was the most important in the country after my octogenarian. He is of Shan origin and has learned the legends from another master. He has nevertheless told me nearly the very same fables, with this difference that he is less precise and less complete than the grand-father. As to Karai Kasang, he gives me the same explanations and makes him the origin of everything, in this sense that he not only maintains, but also creates through the agency of fathers and mothers, whatsoever exists on earth.

(*c*) In the meanwhile Ninpang majan becomes again pregnant and after ten years gives birth to—

Kringkron Wa and
Ynong majan.

Then she dies and her husband too. Samwi's shade (Minla), becomes a cloud (Saiwan); and Ningpang's is changed into Uli (a kind of bird).

2. Second Generation

Kringkron Wa (1) and Ynong majan give at first birth to:

(*a*) Mumu Wunlang, heaven embryo, or savage.
Ka Wunphrang, earth ,, ,, ,,
Jan Wunlang, sun ,, ,, ,,
Shata Wumphrang, moon ,, ,, ,,

But these are only embryons; Kringkron is too young and Ynong not mature enough; with the hope of at once arriving at maturity they roast a little their body at the sun embryon (Jan Wunlang) and soon bring forth:

(*b*) Ningpaum Wunlang Panchen Wunphrang, bison embryon;
Magwi, Wunlang, Manang Wunphrang, elephant embryon;
Rumba Wunlang Sharawng Wunphrang, tiger embryon;
Numlang Wunlang Kahka Wunphrang, crow embryon;
Rumba, Wunlang, Trapru, Wunphrang, bear embryon;
Ninzi, Wunlang, Tetsin, Wunphrang, hawk embryon;

(1) *Wa* or *lawa* or *la* mean a male being, man; whilst *majan* or *jan* or *numjan* mean a female being, woman.

Sinjep, Wunlang, Lapu, Wunphrang, serpent embryon;
Nlung Wunlang Lung Chaupha Wunphrang, rock embryon.

Hardly born, the rock wants to make use of his long legs and run over the earth at the risk of smashing it. But his brother Jan (sun) jumps on him, chains him and roasts him. And henceforth stones are dead and remain quiet.

Till now Ynong has had only embryon children; henceforth they are complete; their names are:

Shangkam majan, } father of the bee kind;
Shintum lawa, } mother ,, ,, ,,

Ningtum Kanu or Ningri itou or Matsa Kanu, spirit of malediction who takes his abode in the hollow of a great rock. (From there he amuses himself with biting the human beings, who, to get rid of him, offer him dogs, fowls, swine, etc.; him it is whom they invoke to curse somebody and whom they send to harm their enemies).

Maidaw or Jakha is the great war-god; he dwells in the heavens and has at his command to put down his enemies:

Padang Samtu, magical hammer made with the head of Ninzi (hawk, *vide* supra) when he was dead;

Padang Unmaung, standard of victory;

Padang Najawn, magic plough;

Luntaung Ningthu, magic knife;

Lung Krang Kunli, magic bow.

These weapons appear at the death of Rumba, bear, his body forms the bow, his tongue, the knife, and his genital parts, the plough and the Standard. They invoke Madaw before the battles, and to secure his help, offer him buffaloes, swine, etc. After the victory they offer him also sacrifices of thanksgiving.

(*c*) Ynong becomes pregnant for the last time and after 20 years gives birth to
Ningthoi wa, light, and
Ningsin majan, darkness.

Kringkrong and Ynong then stop living and their bodies are changed into different objects; hair and beard become onions; head bones, tom-toms; arms and legs, stone-guns; skin, costly clothing, etc., etc.

3. Third Generation

(*a*) Ningthoi and Ningsin beget boys and girls who are :

Sumpaum,
Sumpa,
Shingjam,
Jamla,
Nandaun daun ka
} Kachin vegetables which grow in the forest in a wild state.

Yu tunsung,
U tunsung,
Gwi sungsung,
Wa sungsung,
Nga sunsung,
} wild animals looking like a — rat. hen. dog. swine. buffalo.

Phy-wam numjam, father of the porcupine kind.
Phy-um lawa, mother ,, ,, ,,

Yuzi nenla, father of the squirrel kind.
Yu Kantang, mother ,. ,, ,,

Jingjan numjan, father of the ant kind.
Jingjan lawa, mother ,, ,, ,,

Toiron lawa, father of the cricket kind.
Toiron numjan, mother ,, ,, ,,

Chili lawa, father of the bird kind.
Nimli numjan, mother ,, ,, ,,

Chitsha lawa, father of the deer kind.
Chitsha numjan, mother ,, ,, ,,

(*b*) Ningsin again conceives and after 30 years gives birth to

Ningsang Woishun (male) and

Phungkam Janun (chyanun), female.

She then dies and her shade (minla) becomes *Ukaukon* (a sort of bird). He resides in a deep ravine, he is the first to see darkness and sends to mankind the evening breeze.

Ningthoi also stops living and is changed into Ningthoi U (bird of light). He keeps near the door of the sun, he is the first to see light and he sends the morning breeze.

4. Fourth Generation

Ningsang Woishun and Phungkam Janun first beget :

(a) Janun Dingding Ka, Woishun Mumu, } earth and heaven nearly formed.

(*b*) Then 4 brothers :

Ningkong Wa Makam, who will malleate the earth ;
Mauda Lana, torch-bearer ;
Ningyu Lawa, cook ;
Mauda Langut Shida Laya, horseman ;

(*c*) Afterwards the following instruments :

Mungkang Ma-au, great caldron ;
Kaba punkrong, great cylinder to boil rice and the earth in a water bath ;
Kaba Samnep, anvil ;
Lamut Sumdu, hammer ;
Wunti Lakap, pincers ;
Daiphaw Tangron, bow ;
Shingkim Taiyu, balls for bow.

5. Origin of the Great Nats or Spirits

Janun later begets the following great Nats :

(1) La'nkam Matsaw Mulam, who runs away, nobody knows where, and to whom the Kauris offer no sacrifice;

(2) La'nnaung Masokoun or Hkringwan, spirit of riches, who dwells in heaven and whom all the Kachins invoke.

(3) La'n La Sinlap, good Nat, who also dwells in heaven and to whom everybody offers sacrifices.

(4) La'n Tu Musheng or Makam Wa Ningsang, spirit of thunder; he commands clouds, rain, wind, lightning and thunder; out of fear all the Kachins sacrifice to him swine, fowls, buffaloes, etc.

(5) La'n Tang Jan Wa, another Nat of riches differing from Jan (Sun). The duni (princes), dumsani (priests) and Jai-wani (bards) alone are allowed to make offerings to him.

(6) La'n Yawng Tsindu Madai, dwells in heaven and the people alone sacrifice to him.

(7) La'nkha Lamu Sinwa, remains in an island of the Irrawaddy between Bhamo and Myitkyina; princes and people sacrifice to him.

(8) La'n Koi Madai, grand master of heaven; only princes make offerings to him.

(9) La'n Khyn Madai, the only Nat to preside at the feasts of the Chinese, Shans and Kalas (foreigners, especially Indians and Europeans). (1)

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(1) The Kachins have common nouns to designate each one of their children : La'nkam means the first boy; La'nnaung, the second, etc.; Num'nkaw first girl; Num Nlu, second, etc. As seen above, they apply to the Nats the same expressions.

These great Nats are often called Muni (dwellers in heaven) : some bards say they are children of Kring-krawny and Ynowng : in this case La'nka Lamu Sinwa, is no other than Madaw or Jakha, god of war.

The Muni have each a different kingdom. La'n Koi Madai or simply Madai has the richest empire; later on we shall see him giving in marriage his daughter to one of the ancestors of the present lords, and they consequently honour him in a special way.

Hkring Wan, Sin Lap and Jan Wa, are nearly as opulent as Madai, and are therefore, after him, looked upon as the principal gods of riches. The four of them are good, and often invoked especially to obtain wealth, etc.

La'n Tu Musheng (Thunder) is the most powerful and the most terrible of the spirits, because he has the whole of the heavenly artillery at his beck. But he is a captain without fortune, and consequently often exacts from men his own food and the allowance of his poor soldiers.

He is considered as the second war-god; in the battles his help is sought with that of Jakha.

6. Origin of Fathers and Mothers of many things.

Janun becomes again mother and gives birth to Kumli Sin, sort of pumkin without head and neck.

This, she then says, will help to make man reasonable,

(Shinggim Masha), when the earth is habitable;

Kantli Duwa, father of the Kashys, precious stones;

Kant Jan, mother of the Kashys, precious stones;

Ndin Lakong Majan, ball of twine;
Machin Tungku, mother of the water;
Ja Maibon, Kumprong Maiwan, } cup of gold and silver;
Shawa Unti Majan, mother of thatching grass;
Ningkum Pari Majan, mother of thread;
Phraw Majan, mother of beauty;
Maran Jumti Majan, mother of salt;
Madun Pungren Majan, mother of flutes;
Sautu Majan, mother of grease;
Katsin Numka Majan, mother of heart, liver, lungs, etc.;
Sagaung Sinri Majan, mother of hair;
Waren La, } father of rice and cotton;
Pungtang Majan, } mother ,, ,,
Ubang Lawa, father of the domesticated birds;
Tangkam Majan, mother of the domesticated birds;
Daru Kumsan and Shingra Kumjan, father and mother of Chinese, Shan, Burmese, Kala, etc., lords and kings.

But as the earth is not yet ready, Janun hides her two last children till the world becomes habitable.

She yet gives birth to La'nkam and La'nnaung known by the name of Piennu Lamshang Duni, chiefs of the Lamshang; the Lamshang (beginning of the road) or Namshang (beginning of the forest) is a kind of sacred place shaded by big trees at the entry and the way out of each village. There the Kachins gather for their common sacrifices to the great Nats. La'nkam watches the village at the East Lamshang, on the road to China; La'nnaung protects it on the West side on the Shan road.

Maching nu Sinwadu, guardian of the fountains;
Shwi Shingtai Jinkong Nummai, goddess protecting the front of the chiefs' house.

Then Janun dies, and, as will be seen later, her body is transformed into riches. Her shade becomes master of the earth under the name of Shadip Nat (they offer to her sacrifices in the Namshang at sowing and reaping time, etc.).

Her husband Woishun remains alive and is the master of heaven. The couple go on making presents to each other : Woishun sends rain to Shadip, and Shadip answers by the rain-bow.

CHAPTER II

BUILDING THE WORLD

1. Ningkong Wa forges the Earth

Hardly born Ningkong Wa exerts himself to make the world habitabie. He gathers into one mass the three heavens and earths, which we have already seen appearing, and divides them in the middle by one stroke of Panang Kauka (great cutlass). He places heaven on top and earth underneath; heaven he makes rest on four big columns :

Punbang Manjawn, Kaba Dawkong, Mu Madi Kabran, Ka Madi Tokang (see chap. I).

He then puts the earth in the Punkrong (cylinder) and boils her in a vapour bath in the Ma-au (big caldron); after this, he pours her outside. Quickly he lays hold of anvil, hammer, pincers and together with his three brothers begins to forge her bit by bit.

Mauda Lana, carries the bow and the balls and goes in front as torch bearer.

Ningyiu Lawa, is in charge of the eatables and does the cooking.

Mauda Langut, leads the horse and is Ningkong's groom.

Mauda Lana, shoots with the bow right and left and the balls he shoots produce the mountains.

Starting from the middle of the earth (Ka-ang Ka), which my Jai-wa takes to be in the north, our four brothers first forge the Chinese country. They there build a palace for the future emperors and give the custody of it to the horse, duck and goose.

They then make the Kachin, Shan and Burmese country, where they build a great palace for the future kings, and give it in custody to the elephant. They advance more and more and forge the Kala Ka (land of

foreigners, Indians or Europeans), where they build a palace watched over by the horse and the elephant.

They then meet with two immense rocks Lung Yi and Lung La, between these rocks all the rivers, which make the sea pour out their water. They then turn to the east and make the Wa Ka, country of men with pig heads, savages and the Sinli Ka, country of the Chinese Shans. When the work is done they return to the centre of the world.

There remains yet one great column, Mu Shadaung Maren, and they think of putting it up between earth and heaven. They measure the distance and find Mu Shadaung too long. They cut a little from the upper end and all the chips become large birds of heaven.

They again measure, but the column cannot yet enter; now they cut from the lower end and the chips give birth to all the animals which live in the water.

They put it up and at last it is perfect. At once the column is animated and becomes a large tree (*Sut Phun Nu,* tree of riches) with immense branches covered with gold and silver leaves.

And this tree is watched over on the top by Ja U and Sut Kalang, bird of gold and hawk of riches; in the middle by Sut Shang Jing Ja and Khan Shang Ngala, deer and buffalo of riches; and at the foot by Phundi-phun, Phunphang-phun, a deaf and blind old man; Mungji Jiron La, a kind of Mushroom, and Jakhu Taung Ningwa, an axe of nine cubits.

Ningkong Wa then forbids Padang Laptu (great serpent, *vide* I*a*) to shake the earth too much, and henceforth she is able to receive inhabitants.

2. Ningkong Wa builds for himself a Palace

When Ningkong Wa has forged the earth he sends the great bird Sinpi U to measure her. Sinpi U goes

to the extremities of the world, but comes quick back to make for himself a house because he has seen the rain coming; he advises Ningkong Wa to do the same.

—" Heaven is my roof and earth my floor, answers the great spirit, and I won't make a house."

—But the rainy season is long and the earth will become damp underneath thy feet.

—Well, I will make a house.

And when Ningkong has taken this resolution, all the spirits set to work under his orders.

Big trees are cut down and immense columns shaped like the needles of a porcupine are got ready; they are planted in the ground in three rows, the tallest in the middle; but how to manage afterwards? Ningkong sees a boar whose shape gives him the idea of preparing three long bars, one for the top and one for each side. What to do after this? Ningkong sees an elephant and at once has the thought of a roof like his back. But how to cover it?

The sister Ningkum Pari Majan, mother of the thread, takes that in hand; she sets to work and the thread is finished and the roof is only half made.

Ningkong Wa gives nevertheless a pig to the workmen. One of the sisters, Shawa Unti Majan, mother of the thatching grass, comes to help her and in a moment finishes covering the house which is a real palace.

Ningkong is pleased and kills a big buffalo for his men; he sacrifices a fowl and a pig to the Marawng Nat.

3. NINGKONG WA OBJECTS TO ENTER THE PALACE, AND GIVES A NAME TO THE ANIMALS

The palace is finished and Ningkong Wa is going to take possession of it when he hears himself laughed at

by nine sons of Ubung Ubang, father of the domesticated animals. In a rage he runs off to Manu Ynung and plans vengeance. Every body is dismayed and all decide to send some one to catch him.

First they depute Lashyon.

—Eh ! Ningkong, my brother, come to the palace, there's nobody to live in it.

—I am too angry; thou, call thyself henceforth *Laniau* (cat) and go and watch the palace.

Then Lashyan is sent.

—Eh ! brother, come to the palace, there's nobody to live in it.

—I am too angry; thou, call thyself henceforth *Gwi* (dog) and go and watch the palace.

Are also sent :

Layon	who is called		*Wa,* pig.
Mpie	,,	,,	*Bainam,* goat.
Yau Nga	,,	,,	*Sagu,* sheep.
Tuptak	,,	,,	*Kumran,* horse.
Tangbaung	,,	,,	*Punsu,* ox.
Krukrap	,,	,,	*Ngaloi,* buffalo.
Tangkam	,,	,,	*Ngaphaw,* bison.
Kripkraup	,,	,,	*U,* fowl.
Tuda	,,	,,	*Jinu,* fly.

But the fly refuses to return and threatens Ningkong to put her vermin on his head.

Our hero is afraid and finally consents to return home now on horse back, then on elephant's back : he covers the distance which separates him from the middle of the earth and leaves every where footprints, which are visible even now.

Then to the great joy of all he solemnly enters the palace.

Yet he does not give up his vengeance; he takes a big Mushroom, poisons one half of it and invites his

enemies to a feast. He keeps for himself the sound part and offers the remainder to Ubang's nine sons, who greedily eat it up and immediately die of it.

4. Ningkong Wa opens Roads

The earth, it is true, is in good condition, but roads are yet wanting; Ningkong is going to open them; he takes under his arm his sister, 'Ndin Lakong, a ball of twine, unwinds part of it on China, and re-enters his palace; henceforth there is a fine road to China. He then goes towards the Shan countries, again unwinds his sister, and it is the Shan road. In the same way he opens the Kachin, Burmese and Kala roads, etc.

5 Ningkong Wa makes the Rivers

Ningkong then takes Ja Maibon and Kumprong Maiwan (cup of gold and silver), plunges them into Machin Tungku (mother of the water) and pours them out on the earth. The Malikha (Irrawady) is at once formed; Ningkong goes on drawing water and each full cup produces a river. In this way he makes hundreds of them (useless to name them) which, all of them, flow into the Irrawady; the latter river itself carries all its water into the sea, between the two famous rocks Lungyi and Lungla.

But the Malikha is its mother, Machin Tungku's darling; she gives it as guide and protector the boa and the wild boar, makes a present to it of a gold dress and a bed of gold, of the fishes, the vegetables, the bamboos, the canes, etc.

And from that time, the great river of Burma, or rather, of the world, according to the Kachins, carries much gold dust, feeds many fishes, and sees its banks covered with bamboos, cane, mustard, pepper, etc.

6. Ningkong Wa makes the common man

The earth has now become habitable and Ningkong Wa sets about making man. He takes Taulininchy and Numlang Ukaung, sword and scissors, sons of Samwi and lays hold of Kumli Sin, his brother without head, without neck, and who is shaped like a pumpkin.

With one stroke of the sword he cuts him into two; then, out of one half, with the scissors he carves man and out of the other half, carves out woman. It is only for the eye sight he needs other matter, and it is with the seeds of Karom Si he makes their eyes; then, to distinguish them, he sticks into the man a bit of the root of the taura ru, and gives the woman a cut with a knife; as yet they are lifeless and it is Sampuy Nang Majan, who comes to animate them .

Then Ningkong makes the woman swallow a great pot of *Mayu Tsi* seed; gives only a little of it to the man and the earth is soon inhabited by the *Tarat Ni* (common people).

7. Ningkong Wa names the Princes and Kings

Ningkong Wa then remembers his brother Daru Kumsan and his sister Shingra Kumjan, hidden by their mother until the earth becomes habitable.

—Come, come, he shouts to them; now the earth can receive you.

And they come and give birth to children.

The first, La'n Kam, is born with hair like a tail, a cap with rubies, long over-coat and slippers.

Ningkong makes him first emperor of China. The second La'n Naung advances with a helmet with feathers, a dress of many colours and gaiters; he is made Duwa (chief) of the Marus.

The third, La'n La, comes with a many-coloured turban, a long yellow coat and sandals. He becomes first chief of the Shans.

The fourth wears a turban of interlaced feathers, a *passau*, a broad piece of silk tucked up round the waist, and his legs are tattooed all over. He is the first Burmese King.

The fifth, La'n Tang, has only a lance; he is the first Chin chief.

The sixth, La'n Jaung, with blue turban, knife and knapsack is the first duwa of the Kachins proper. Another legend more in vogue makes them descend, as will be seen later, from Ningkong Wa himself.

The seventh, La'n Kha, is born quite naked and is the first chief of the *Wa* (men with a pig's head).

The eighth, La'n Roi, wears a silk hat, a coat and trousers of gold, and splendid shoes. Ningkong Wa names him first king of the *Kala* (Indians and Europeans).

The ninth, La'n Khin, and the tenth La'n Yun have coats of shells; one becomes chief of *Kynsens* (those who forge tom-toms), the other, duwa of the *Lashys* (Kachin tribe).

8. Deluge

Ningkong Wa now thinks of making bridges over the rivers; he begins his work on the Irrawady. Behold! nine brothers, sons of Layau Kanzaw, men of the common stock, are jealous of his glory and do all they can to hinder his undertaking; they make use of deceit and lying. They send word to Ningkong through one of them that his brother is dead, hoping that hearing that he will leave aside his bridge.

—Let him be dead, says Ningkong; for a brother one can find somebody to replace him.

And he goes on working.

They come and tell him that his sister and his mother are dead—same answer.

Very soon they come and tell him his father is dead.

—A father, answers Ningkong, is not replaced, and he begins to weep.

In his sorrow he destroys the bridge he had begun and throws his tools into the water; his hammer makes an island, and his bellows and his anvil give birth to two great waterfalls. Ningkong at once makes up his mind to return home; he first mounts an elephant, but the road is too narrow; he then takes a horse, which very soon succumbs under the weight; he continues on foot and even nowadays his footprints are to be seen.

When he has reached his palace in the middle of the earth, how very much surprised he is to find everyone alive.

—You have told me lies, says he to the nine brothers; I shall make it rain on you nine days.

—Make it rain as much as thou pleasest, they answer, we are not afraid.

—I shall make nine suns rise.

—We are not afraid!

—I shall send the deluge.

—We are not afraid!

—Well! let the deluge come! Let the men die, when they will have water up to the ankles, and the women up to the knees.

But Ningkong has with him two orphans, brother and sister, whom he likes much; he puts them in a drum with nine cocks, nine needles, nine wax balls and nine rice cakes; then he sends the deluge which causes the death of all the living; only these two, brother and sister, rise and float on the water. The first day they eat a cake, then, through an opening of the drum, they throw outside a cock, a needle and a ball; but they hear only the dead noise of these things falling in the water.

They do likewise the following days; it is always the same despairing sound.

The 9th day arrives and they eat the last cake and throw out the last cock, the last needle and the last ball; the ball says *paf!* the needle *pif!* and the cock crows *kiri kiki!* The deluge is finished, and two children, quite jolly, come out of their drum; they are sad seeing they have no companions and with a sad heart roam about at random. The Nats, the birds and the kings are not bothered by the deluge.

9. Adventures of the two Orphans

RE-PEOPLING OF THE EARTH

The two orphans very soon arrive at a Nat's Tungra Shung Makam.

—Eh! grand father, they tell him, we are orphans and without companions; could we stay with you?

—Of course, my little ones; I will feed you if you do my work well; there, go and fetch water. And he gives them a jug which is cracked. Away go the children and whilst they try in vain to fill the jug, they hear the old spirit saying he will eat them that very evening.

In their fright they run away, and after a long walk arrive at another spirit's, called Waun Kut Krun.

—Well, grand father, we're alone and orphans; could we stay with you?

—Yes, little ones; go and fetch me water." And he gives them a jug which is also cracked.

—But, grand father, we shall never be able to bring water in a jug like this; let us have another!" And the Nat gives them a good pot. As they are going to the fountain, they hear the grandfather, who speaks of educating them well. This pleases them much, and with all their heart they work for their protector.

But lo! the first Nat is after them and comes to look for them at Waun Kut Krun's.

—Eh, brother, has thou not seen two children?

"No, brother," and saying this, he hides them in the chimney; then—"Come in, brother, come and warm thyself a bit" and there they are both having a chat near the fire.

The two children, quite frightened and also tormented by the smoke, cannot refrain themselves from urinating and the flow drops just on Tungra Shung Makam's forehead.

—Eh, brother, one should say it's raining!

—No, brother, it's a pot of rice beer leaking.

—Let us then have a drink of it.

—Not now; it is not fermented enough.

—Yes, now!

—I tell thee it is not yet good! Well, come and drink of it after four days.

—All right! till we meet again after four days!

And away he goes.

Waun Kut Krun then draws the children out of the chimney and together they heat red hot a big iron poker.

The fourth day Tungra Shung Makam arrives and just when he opens the door, they plunge into his throat the red hot iron bar. And the poor Nat, to refresh himself a bit, runs quick to take a plunge in the river, below the waterfall, and in this very spot, he is still groaning and foaming. (He has no longer any liking for beer; that's why, when the Kachins invoke him, they offer him only water.) In the meantime the two orphans go on living at Waun Kut Krun's who treats them like his children; one day, when putting wood in the fire, they burn all their clothes, but the Nat makes others for them with leaves of the wild plantain tree. Another day they go a fishing and scratch themselves at the roots and

brambles of the water side. This causes them much itching and, to relieve themselves, they roll one on the other. Some time later a child is born unto them. The Nat watches over the child when they both go and work in the fields. But the little one does nothing but howl or weep; the Nat threatens to kill him if he does not stop; the child howls and weeps still more.

Then Waun Kut Krun, in a rage, smothers the child and with the heart and lungs prepares a plate of rice; he then cuts up the body into very small bits which he goes and scatters where the road has nine branches. Evening sets in; the parents come back home and ask for the child.

—First of all eat rice, says the Nat, then I will tell you where the little one is.

Brother and sister still their hunger and again inquire about the child.

—You have even now eaten his heart, answers the Nat, and if you wish to see his body, go to the nine branchings. The parents lament and run to the appointed spot. How great their surprise to find there men of all kinds, Chinese, Shans, Kachins, Burmese, Kalas, etc., made out of the bits of their son.

—My children, my children! the parents call out.

—We are not your children; you have eaten the heart of your son.

—Surely, surely, you are my children.

—Not at all; well, if you whiten this coal, we will own we are your children.

Brother and sister rub and rub again the coal, but cannot make it white, and go away very sad.

Soon they have another child, Shwi Shingtai, who becomes a witch (*phyi*) and the mother of all the sorcerers.

They too die shortly after and their shade is transformed into Nats called Kaban Phraw Lung and Kasen Phynien : ever since they have been in China as watchmen of the iron mines.

It is clear that the spirits and the lords and the kings are not bothered by the deluge.

The plants keep their roots and sprout again little by little.

As to the animals who all of them perish with men Ningkong Wa has them soon remade.

CHAPTER III

KACHIN SCIENCE

1. Origin of Science

Ningkong Wa convokes all men at his palace in the middle of the earth. To the Chinese, Shans, Burmese, Kalas, he deals out science in books. But it is on parchment he gives science to the Kachins who, being very hungry when they reach home, roast it and eat it up; after this they have all their knowledge in their stomach, whilst the other men possess their knowledge on paper.

2. Origin of Riches and the Wind

Ningkong Wa again calls mankind together. The Chinese, Shans, Burmese, Kalas consult their books and see there is question of distributing gold and silver; they come running with immense baskets tightly plaited, through which nothing can pass. The Kachins not knowing why they are called together come with back-baskets very loosely plaited. Ningkong then distributes the riches; but the Kachins lose everything on the way and from that time are poor. The other nations on the contrary are able to carry to their very homes their whole share and are now rich.

But it is at Jaun's death that the entire world is loaded with presents.

The poor old woman passes a great deal of wind which gives birth to the tempests and gives up the last breath from which are born the breezes; the whole of her body is transformed :

The hair and beard become silken threads;

The eyes, nose, teeth : precious stones and diamonds;

The brain divided into two, gives birth to two silver mines, one in China, the other in the country of the Kalas;

The head bones make Shan and Chinese tom-toms;
The ears become mushrooms;
The breasts, bananas (plaintains) and other fruits;
The heart and entrails, rubies;
The skin and the stomach, thick clothes for the Chinese and the Kalas;
The arms and legs, guns and cannons, also for the Chinese and Kalas;
The back bone, an immense cannon for the use of the Kalas, etc.

At this distribution the Kachins fare as badly as at the first; this time it is their country which gets nothing.

3. Origin of the small Nats or Spirits

Ningkong again summons mankind. The Kachins expecting a new distribution of gold and silver come rushing with immense back-baskets this time very tightly plaited. But it is the Nats who are distributed. The Chinese, Shans, Burmese, Kalas, who have come only with their knapsack get but a few. The Kachins see their baskets are full of them. But finding them too heavy, they put down some of them at each halting place on the road, and only half of them remain when they reach home; so that now you find spirits a little everywhere in the forests, near the fountains, on trees, rocks, etc.(1)

4. Origin of the Sacrifices to the Nats and of the use of meat

At first man ate only vegetables and fruits and found in the leaves of the Tsiphun (medicine shrub), a remedy for all his ailments. But, behold! the animals appear;

(1) My Jai Wa rejects this; he says the Kachins had no need of Nats because they had them all except La'nkhyn Madai the only one given to the other nations.

buffaloes and oxen devour the leaves of the Tsiphun, pigs eat the stalk and fowls attack the root. Happily the " companion Nats " come in time to save the shrub and transport the rest of it to the country of the sun, where the Tsiphun very soon sprouts again and develops. But men may no longer pluck its leaves as they please; they must pass through the Nats, who exact a compensation. Then the buffalo, the ox, the pig and the fowl take pity on mankind, and for the cost of medicines, offer themselves willingly as victims to the Nats. And from that time the Kachins offer sacrifices and eat meat, because the spirits content themselves with inhaling the essence or the life (nsa) of the animals sacrificed unto them.

5. Origin of Death

Formerly men did not die; only the sons of the sun stopped living and were re-born daily; and every day a very rich lord of the earth, called Kaban Sutna, went up to the country of the sun with (according to Kachin custom) mortuary presents: fowls, pigs, etc. Our man is soon tired of running, and he invites the sun family also in its turn to come down to his house; the sun family refuses; then the prince makes use of tricks. He kills a rat and announces its burial; but the suns don't hear. He then kills a sakhai (big squirrel) dresses him like a man, hides him under a mat in the house, puts up a *Karoi* (tuft of bamboos fixed in the ground and showing that somebody has died), fires gun-shots and begins a great mortuary dance. Now the sun father hears and finds this burial noise extraordinary, because he has cut nobody's vital nerve. He therefore sends his sons to see what's the matter. His sons arrive, dance the whole night, but find no dead at all; they tell their father all about it.

—Go and look again, he answers, and this time dance with bird-lime on your feet, so as to pull up the mats

and do look under them. The little suns arrive again, dance with bird-lime on their feet and upset everything. They find the Sakhai's body and run to give their father the news.

—Ah ! says the old sun, in a rage, men want to die ! Well, let all those who have grey hair stop living ! "

At these words he cuts the nerve of the old men and the old women. On earth there is then great lamentation ; the rich lord dies in his turn, and his family give a great feast at his burial. Fowls, pigs, buffaloes are killed, and according to Kachin custom, the brains of a pig are offered to the spirit of the deceased ; those brains soon disappear under the floor, where at once a chameleon picks them up in high glee.

—Oh ! says he, how nice is a meal for the dead ! let not only those with grey hair die, but also those with black hair.

And henceforth old and young go in turn to the grave and woe betide every chameleon a man meets.

6. Origin of Rice and Cotton

Waren La and Phungtang Majan, sons of Janun, give birth to rice and cotton ; the first sprouts quite white (husked) and the second, already spun ; they have only to pluck them and make use of them. But behold ! the men steal them from both. The two brothers cannot stand such an injustice and leave the earth to go up again and hide themselves in their parents' house. And henceforth mankind dwindles day by day.

They soon decide to send someone to take the rice and the cotton, and at first depute the mustard. But the mustard takes side with the rice and the cotton and does not return.

The men then delegate, one after the other, all the companions and friends of the two brothers : pepper, maize, beans, egg-plants, onions,, etc. But not one returns. There is famine all over the earth; and men, fowls, pigs and dogs have nothing left but skin and bones.

The living finally depute three men : Kumtang, Kumthoi and Parilaboi with a horse and a buffalo. They reach rice's :

—Come back, brother, come back ! without thee men cannot live.

—I won't return to the earth : I am stolen too much !

—Have pity on us, brother, and come back.

—I am too afraid !

—Well, well, says the mustard quite touched, let us have pity on the living and return; I myself will help feeding them.

—I am afraid, answers the rice.

—I too, says the maize, will contribute my share; come along, let us return.

—I am afraid " is the rice's continuous answer.

All the vegetables interfere, but no one can bring them to a decision. Then rice's mother steps in.

—Little one without heart ! thou wantest then to cause the death of all mankind ?

—No, mother dear, but I am afraid.

—There, suck my breast once more, and to defend thyself from the thieves, put on this armour." And she hands him over skin, husk and prickle.—Then, she adds, let thy root be like the buffalo's foot, thy stalk like the Sinma Phun (shrub) and thy ear like a horse's tail ! " Then the rice makes up his mind to return to the earth; the men put the rice on the horse and on the buffalo, and off they are !

—Let us also go! says the cotton (who, like the rice, has got a cuirass) and all the vegetables shout: let us also go! and the whole lot follow on foot.

But they have to pass through the village of the chameleon, a big lord known under the name of Tamin Wa Taman.

—Brothers, say the three leaders to the buffalo and the horse, don't make noise as you walk, we ought to be able to pass without being heard! But brother horse continually makes *krank krak,* and brother buffalo *tukak.*

The Chameleon hears and looks.

—O men, he shouts, do come and have a drink of beer!

The leaders dare not refuse.

—Where do you come from?

—We have taken the rice away.

—And his mother, what did she say?

—Let his root be like the foot of the buffalo, and his ear like the tail of a horse.

—But if it is like that, you will have too much of it, let his root be like my foot and his ear like my head! Then an old man and an old woman, Phauman and Phyiman, both blind, come near and feel the rice to see how he is.

But they are pricked by the prickle and at once fall dead; the leaders in a fright, carefully pull out of the rice the prickle and give it to the hornet, who up to this had nothing to defend himself. The blind couple is at once transformed into Nats and promise, for a consideration, that they both will protect the rice. The men agree and take again the road towards the earth where they soon arrive in high spirits with the rice, the cotton and all the vegetables.

From that time men cultivate vegetables and have to eat; the rice, it is true, does not grow high and has no longer any prickle to defend itself. But the old couple

watches over the rice, and goes by the name of Kusaw Kanu. At harvest time the Kachins offer many times to Kusaw Kanu eggs, rice, meat, beer, etc.

7. Origin of Fire

Men were yet without fire; they felt cold, ate raw things and were very lean. Yet, on the other side of the Irrawady, a certain Nat Wum Lawa Makam had in his possession an element or spirit Wunphrang Wan, who burned by himself and devoured all, dry and green.

—That indeed were capital for us! say the men, and they send Kumthan Kumthoi Makam to ask for it. Kumthan crosses the river on a raft and soon arrives at Wum Lawa's.

—Grandfather, we feel cold, we eat raw food and are very lean, let us then have thy fire.

—You mortals, answers the Nat, you may not possess the spirit of fire; he would cause you too many miseries!

—Have pity on us, grandfather, we suffer so much!

—I cannot give you the fire spirit, but I will show you how to obtain fire: let a man called 'n Tu and a woman called 'n Thu, rub together two pieces of bamboo and soon you will have fire. The messenger goes back happy. As soon as he arrives among men, he makes come a certain 'n Tu and a certain 'n Thu, who rub two bamboos; soon fire comes out and from that time men can warm themselves and roast their food.

As the spirit of fire was not given to mortals, the Kachins, in ordinary circumstances, do not sacrifice to him.

But when a fire breaks out, they attribute it to that spirit, who has come amongst them for a stroll; to send him back they give him fowls, rice, beer, after which they chase him far away under the name of Kaumai du Kausha du 'n mai Kanu.

8. Origin of Water

THE ANIMALS LOSE THE USE OF SPEECH

Men have fire, yes, but they do remain lean. They meet a cricket with a good little belly and a fine appearance.

—Brother, what a fine figure thou cuttest; how hast thou got such a fine appearance?

—I gather a little water (dew), which every night falls from heaven and I drink it.

—But it is water too we all of us want; look here, we are going to send thee to heaven to bring us some.

(The water of the rivers of which we have seen the origin was too far, or destined only for the Nats).

The cricket is willing; but when he has lifted himself as high as a house roof, he falls back on the ground.

The men see he shall never be able to get up to heaven, but to send the cricket up, they make a great hawk (with many things too long to name).

Sampny Nang Majan comes to animate him, and off he is. He has not reached the clouds when he can go no more and gives up his mission; men to punish him, forbid him ever to touch the water; he takes his revenge on the fowls.

Men now make a hornet, animated by Sampny Nang and intrust their project to him. The hornet makes a rush, mounts, mounts and mounts always and finally arrives at Machim Tungku's mother of the water. He shuts Miss Water up in his mouth and quite happy takes again the road towards the earth; just before reaching, he is pressed by hunger and wants to pluck a leaf. At that moment Miss Water falls into the hollow of a tree.

To get Miss Water out, men make a ru (big squirrel); Sampny Nang gives him life and the squirrel climbs the tree, goes down into the hollow and catches Miss Water

in his mouth. He comes up again and is going to reach the earth, when the dogs bark and make him afraid.

He lets go the water which this time falls in a deep cavern. Again disappointed the men all gather, call the animals to help them, and all together try and dig to reach the damsel. But their efforts are vain and they have recourse to other means.

They then make a crab and send him. The crab falls in love with the damsel and does no more come up.

After that they make a crawfish, then a fish, who act likewise. In despair the men make at last a Kauyen (small bird with a fine voice).

This Kachin nightingale goes and perches on a tree close at hand and gives out his finest airs. The crab, the crawfish and the fish hear the melody and go up to see and Miss Water does likewise. Shouts of joy burst forth from all their breasts.

—" Before drinking," say the men, " let us all together sing the praises of the damsel." The animals refuse and rush to slake their thirst; then, in punishment, they lose the use of speech; man, on the contrary, who drinks only after thanksgiving, continues to enjoy the faculty of speech. Miss Water then spreads herself all over the earth and henceforth the living have water for drinking and for cooking.

(And from that time the Kachins, when going to the spring for water, offer as a thanksgiving to the water spirit, fowls, pigs, etc.).

9. Origin of the Sun, the Moon, the Stars and Eclipses

We have seen the sun and the moon being born embryons of Krungkrong and Ynong. From that time they have grown and have a family. The sun has nine small suns, and the moon any amount of small moons (stars) so, when the men begin stealing the

rice, the father sun, to punish them, makes his nine children rise together, gives the dogs nine tails and to the field-mice nine terrier-dogs. Immediately on the earth, the rice and the children are roasted, the dog has no strength to wag his tails, man cannot work and finds it impossible to catch a field-mouse (a tasty morsel for the Kauris).

Then all the living club together and prepare a great bow with living snakes to go and give battle to the sun family. Seeing this, the sun family retires and drags with her the moon family.

Then darkness covers the earth and makes her as uninhabitable as before.

The living hold counsel and decide to send someone to bring the light.

They first send the Tatou.

The Tatou arrives at the hiding place of the suns, but lo! when he presents himself, Miss Sun, busy husking rice under the portico, gives him with her rice stamper such a terrible blow that his teeth are smashed and he falls stone-dead; she then throws the body far away and dares not tell anybody about the adventure.

The men, after four days, seeing that the Tatou does not return, send a new deputy in the person of the cock. The latter, just before reaching the abode of the suns, sees the corpse of the first messenger, and afraid of a similar fate, does not go up to the house, but stops in the middle of the courtyard and crows: *kiri kiki, kiri kiki!* then hides his head under his wing and waits.

The small suns rush out to see what's the matter and at once tell their father there is a stranger in the courtyard without neck and without head.

The father comes forward.

You there, stranger with neither neck or head, who are you?

—I, I am the Cock.

—Where do you come from?

—From the country in the middle of the earth.

—What do you want?

—The other day we sent to you the Tatou; haven't you seen him?

—No, I haven't.

Father, says Miss Sun, there came four days ago a stranger, who frightened me; I have killed him and then thrown him outside; it is he perhaps.

—Go and fetch the body, we shall see.

And indeed they recognise the unhappy Tatou; the sun father makes him again alive, then turning to the cock:

—Tell us then what you want, says he.

—Lord, grandfather, on the earth it's impossible to live! Formerly there was too much light; now there is only darkness. Have therefore pity on us!

—There on earth, will you sing our praises?

—To be sure, *kiri kiki, kiri kiki!*

—Do you promise it in the others' name too?

—Certainly, *kiri kiki, kiri kiki!*"

The old sun father is gained over; out of pity for the living, he launches into space his nine sons, who divide themselves and increase the number of the stars; then with his sister the moon, an agreement is made: he will shine during the day; she will brighten the night. Then the sun gives to the Skikhi (Kachin vegetable), the tails of the dogs and distributes the field-mice's terrier dogs among the rats, moles, weasels, etc.

He then has pity on the Tatou and gives him a breast-plate of shells, claws and a long tongue.

To Mr. Cock, the sun makes a present of a beak, a helmet, ear-rings, spurs and claws.

Then, before separating, cock, sun and moon confirm the peace by the following oath:

—If at the rising of the sun I do not sing his praises, says the cock, let the wild cat devour me!

—Let the toad swallow me, says the sun, if at the cock's crow I do not get up!

And I, adds the moon, if I do not light up the night, let the dog eat me!

Then the cock goes back to the living and announces his peace treaty, everybody is overjoyed and sings the praises of the sun; the bat alone refuses and is condemned to hide during the day and to fly during the night.

From that time, says my narrator, it is the cock who is the most faithful to his oath; many times in the day does he sing the sun, and when in the morning he forgets, it is because he has during the night paid tribute to the fox or the wild cat.

The sun and the moon, for their little perjuries, are on the point of being devoured by the toad or the dog (when there is eclipse). Happily the Kachins come to their rescue; as soon as they see the sun or the moon attacked, they shout, fire off guns and stop the uproar only when frightened toads or dogs at last let go their prey.

All the Kachins honour the sun and the moon; but the chiefs alone are allowed to sacrifice to them and keep their image suspended from a long bamboo in front of their houses.

Anent eclipses, the Lamaiban Jai-wa's legend is different; here it is:

There was in old times an orphan whom its stepmother detested and drove into the forests; the poor thing had only wild fruits to live on. Karai Kasang had pity on him and gave him medicines. The child started curing man and beast, and became rich through their presents. But one day the sun and the moon, jealous of his glory, stole all his drugs. Then a toad and a dog whom he had that very time made hale and sound, rushed after them, the toad after the sun, and the dog after the moon.

They are still running after them, and now and then manage to catch them; hence the eclipses; happily

the Kachins with their din make them soon let go their prey.

10. Origin of Thunder and Lightning

Formerly the Leopard lived in heaven and La'n Tu Mushen Makam Wa Ningsang (thunder) lived on the earth.

And here below nobody did weed the plants and there on high no one did beat the drum.

—Let us change places, says the thunder to the leopard. And the leopard descends on earth and with his paw scratches the foot of the plants which henceforth grow much better. And the thunder goes up to heaven and makes it his work to make him resound.

But lo! on earth nine brothers, sons of Laya Lawa and Nangting Majan, make a Kachin violin and begin playing on it.

The thunder hears it. "This is a sound entirely new to me " says he," let's go and see what it is!" He comes to the nine brothers, chats with them and, to have no competitor, breaks the strings of their instrument.

Layan's sons get wild, declare war on the thunder and give him rendez-vous after four days.

The first battle takes place with a bar : the thunder catches one end and the nine brothers the other, and push it, but the nine brothers are soon upset. Yet they don't own their defeat and fix a new rendez-vous after four days, to show their mutual strength in lifting up a huge rock Lunli Lung, which a good old woman has care of.

This time they use trickery. The fourth day, very early they cover their hands with mud and put them against the stone to render it slippery and leave marks to make the thunder believe that they have really lifted it. They get the old woman on their side and make her

promise to say, she has seen them lift up the rock; then they return quickly not to meet the thunder. The thunder very soon arrives.

—Well, mother, haven't you seen nine men?

—I have; they came very early this morning, lifted up the rock and went away.

Then the thunder takes the stone and easily puts it first on his left shoulder; but whilst he takes it down again, it slips from his hands and smashes his left foot. He again takes it and hoists it on his right shoulder; again the rock slips out of his hands and fractures his other foot.

He again catches the stone, and in a rage, flings it far away. The stone goes through the walls of four houses and hurts a rat. The little animal, quite angry, climbs on the top of a tree, and seeing the thunder :

—I say, old one, couldn't you leave us in peace? But what feet! stumps, and no mistake! run and hide them! !

The thunder can not stand that kind of banter; at once he calls together his friends : cloud, rain, wind, La'n Tu Mashaw (the spirit of thunder), beats the drum furiously, unsheathes his sword which throws out lightning on all sides and flings down Mashaw She to thunderstrike the poor rat.

But see, in the hollow of the tree where the rat has taken refuge, a pole-cat had put her young ones. The poor things, quite shaken by the shock, dwindle away day by day.

Then their mother sends the bear to ask compensation from the thunder.

The latter complies and for damage caused to the pole-cat family, pays a knife, a collar, a calabash and some medicine. Brother bear makes for himself with the knife a good jaw, puts the collar round his neck and gives to the pole-cat only the calabash and the medicine.

Nevertheless the brothers again provoke the thunder to a new fight; they hire an army of snakes; the thunder is satisfied with a gang of hornets, who rush on the snakes, sting them again and again and make them run off.

The nine brothers are still unwilling to give in, they ask to continue the struggle. In a rage the thunder makes nine suns rise; his enemies can not bear the heat, and to refresh themselves plunge into a morass where the powerful spirit of heaven comes to catch them and make them prisoners one after the other.

(From that time the Kachins are sore afraid of the thunder and his friends : cloud, wind, rain, and lightning and repeatedly sacrifice in their honour fowls, pigs, etc.

II. Origin of the Knives and the Lords and Kings of the Kalas (of Europe).

Aforetime the brothers Khrakam and Khra Naung did not know what to do to get a living. They invent the swords and to make them, put their smithy on the banks of the Irrawady; the noise of the hammer strokes troubles the inhabitants of the water, and all the fishes come one after the other to ask the two brothers to transport their smithy elsewhere.

—We are well here, answer the smiths and we will remain here.

—We shall call the crocodile with nine heads; surely he will drive you away.

—Call any body you like; we won't go away!

—When the two brothers hear about the crocodile with nine heads, they quickly prepare nine bars and nine iron ropes, and by turn stand sentry not to be surprised.

Very soon they hear a great noise and see the famous crocodile come with all the fishes behind him.

They hide behind a bush and when the animal passes, the elder brother pierces one of his noses with

a bar, whilst the younger brother quickly throws a rope round him and ties him to a big tree. They do likewise with the other heads and the poor crocodile is obliged to give himself up a prisoner.

As a ransom he offers a basket of gold and silver, a wonderful knife Lungton Ningthu, which cuts every thing, even stones, and a magic bow, Lung Krang Kunli, which always hits the mark and even pierces the rocks.

The two brothers accept and let go the crocodile; then seeing they are rich, they want to return home; they make a raft to cross the river and are already mid-stream when a fish comes up, and out of revenge, cuts into two their shaky raft. The smiths are each on one part; the elder Khramkam has with him the basket of gold and silver and is carried away to the north; the younger Khra Naung with the knife and the bow, floats towards the south.

It is only towards the sources of the Irrawady that Khrakam can land; there he establishes himself and soon marries a fine she-monkey.

Khra Naung is swept away far, very far, into the midst of the Kala country. He is at last able to descend into a village, but how surprised he is to see no inhabitants. He at last finds an old woman in tears:

—I say, mother, there are no people here about?

—Alas! a serpent has devoured everybody.

—Where's that brigand, let me kill him!

—He always comes when they call the pigs. Look here, I will make him come; Maw! Maw! (Kachin cry to call the pigs). At once nine serpents present themselves on a line.

—He is not yet there, says the old woman and she goes on: Maw! maw! then comes a serpent ten times thicker than the others, having something like a helmet on his head, and already opening his mouth to devour some one.

—There he is! shouts the old woman. At once Khra Naung shoots an arrow which kills the serpent; he advances and cuts him into small bits with the magic knife. He has hardly finished when all those bits become men. Then the village counts as many inhabitants as before and the new inhabitants full of thankfulness proclaim Khra Naung their king.

Some time later the ex-smith goes for a stroll in the neighbourhood and enters a village where he meets only an old man in tears.

—I say, father, where are your companions?

—A vulture has devoured them one after the other.

—Where is he? I want to kill him.

—He always comes when they call the fowls : he will be coming : Kuru! Kuru! (exclamation to call the fowls) and lo! nine vultures come near, followed by one much bigger.

—It is the last, that huge one, who takes us away! Khra Naung sets his bow and rushes off to cut to pieces the famous vulture. And all the bits change into men, who also make him their king. Khra Naung is henceforth at the head of two villages and gets many presents; he soon is able to buy an elephant; he gets on his back and goes in search of his brother.

He walks a long, a very long time and is going to reach the sources of the river when he meets a monkey with a basket of gold and silver. With one shot he knocks him down, passes a stick through him and roasts him on the fire. He recognizes his brother's basket and thinks he shall find him there about. Hardly has he made a few steps when he sees his brother sitting on a tree.

—Is it you, brother?

—Yes, I am Khra Kam.

—Come down quickly, dinner must be ready. And on the way he tells him how he had just now had the

chance of killing a she-monkey and catching her young one.

They come near the fire.

But, miserable man! it is your sister-in-law you are roasting, my wife, my poor wife!

Both weep a long time; some days later when their sadness has calmed down a bit:

I say, brother, I have there in the Kala country two States; I give you one, come and govern it.

—But then what to do with the little bearded fellow?

And he shows him the son he has had by the she-monkey.

It is very simple; let us put him with us on the elephant and off we are. Perhaps one day you will be very pleased to have him as a substitute!

And the small caravan is off. When back in the Kala country the two brothers govern each a village; but the elder brother soon dies, and it is the little bearded one who succeeds him on the throne; from that son of the she-monkey are born the lords and kings of Europe who are quite hairy like their ancestor.

12. Ningkong Wa marries Miss Crocodile

ORIGIN OF THE SMALL CHINESE FEET

One day Ningkong Wa casts his eyes far away and there, far off, on the Irrawady, he sees something like mustard shoots floating on the water. He asks what it is.

Miss Baren (crocodile) breathing the fresh air, is the answer.

—Well! let them bring her here, I want to marry her. They go and take the damsel and introduce her in Nungkong's palace. But she gives forth a very offensive smell; washing and scrubbing her is useless, she for ever smells. Then they make her pass through an amount of *Kanphans* (bundles of thatching grass planted in the

ground before the house). (A Kachin young bride, to purify herselt, must pass through the Kanphans just before she enters her new house).

The damsel is at last disinfected and can without shame take Ningkong's arm.

Unhappily she is barren and dies quite young; her shade goes to hover over China and from that day all the Chinese ladies have crocodile feet.

13. ORIGIN OF THE THATCHING GRASS, THE THREAD, THE HAIR, BEAUTY, THE FLUTES, THE SALT, THE HEART'S FAT, THE LIVER, THE LUNGS

Ningkong Wa marries a girl of the Nats.

When Ningkong Wa has wept some time over his beautiful crocodile, he thinks of asking the hand of one of her sisters. He first addresses himself to Miss Thatching grass; she refuses, but, afraid of her brother's vengeance, she runs away all over the world, distributes everywhere thatching grass and dies in Burma where henceforth thatching grass is plentiful. Then Ningkong Wa asks Miss Thread (*Ningkum Pari*) who also starts, gives thread a little everywhere and dies in the Shan country where henceforth thread abounds.

Miss Hair (*Sagoung Sinri*) acts likewise and dies in China. Therefore it is that from that time the Chinese have a long and beautiful pig-tail.

Miss Beauty (*Phraw*) in her turn, is careful to adorn every creature, dies in the centre of the earth and her shade becomes a whirlwind.

Miss Flute (*Madun Pungren*) gives herself a little to every one, but especially to the Kalas in whose country she dies.

Miss Salt (*Maran Jumti*) first runs to China; whilst running she perspires, and each drop of sweat falling on the ground gives birth to Mushrooms; she spits and each

expectoration produces a spring of hot water; she urinates and each flow becomes a salt min.

At last she goes to the Kala country where she dies, and her body gives birth to immense salt mines. Therefore it is that the salt of Europe is more abundant and better than the salt of China.

Miss Fat (*Sautu*) at first gives herself somewhat to all; then she returns to China where she dies; from that time the Chinese eat any amount of fat, and are sleek and plump.

Miss Katsin Wumka passes unto all the living some heart, liver and lungs and dies in the centre of the earth.

Poor Ningkong Wa, whom all his sisters have run away from, turns his eyes towards a princess, a daughter of the Nats, and finally succeeds in getting a companion who for ever shares his lot.

PART II

MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGION

CHAPTER I

KACHIN SPIRITS

NINGKONG WA GIVES A MANAU

GREAT KACHIN FEAST IN HONOUR OF THE PRINCIPAL NATS

1. PREPARATION

Ningkong Wa, to celebrate his new marriage, gives a Manau to the whole world. His sister 'ndin Lakong (bundle of thread), has died a short time ago and her shade has transformed itself into: *Tingka ula,* cock, *Tingka wala,* pig and *Tingka ngala,* ox, who live in his palace; it is they who take it upon themselves to announce the feast. But our hero still wants a big drum, and to make that drum he must by all means have a tusk of the golden elephant, whom formerly Janun had given birth to.

Whilst he himself is preparing the Manau at home, levelling the ground for the dance, etc., he sends some of his men to catch the furious animal. The elephant runs away up to the Kala country where he falls down quite exhausted. The hunters lay hold of his tusks and his bones and bring them to Ningkong, who makes with the bones a weaver's loom for his wife, and with one tusk the great Sutchin, huge box of riches. A great mast is put up before the palace, and finally all is ready for the Manau.

2. ARRIVAL OF THE NATS

Ningkong first invites the Nats, and to call them, he has but to raise his voice a little. At once all the spirits are present and take their seats on the special altar prepared for each of them.

La'n Roi Madai, master of heaven, has the place of honour even in Ningkong's palace.

Are absent: La'nkam Mausan Mulam, gone away nobody knows where, La'n Khyn Madai, Nats of the Shans, Chinese, Kalas, and Thunder. But the latter excuses himself saying he is afraid the birds would laugh at him. Ningkong promises him he will hide them all, and the old cripple at last arrives hobbling along. At that moment the birds come from under the roof, or out of the pierced baskets which hardly shut them in, and seeing Thunder:

—But what feet! halloa! grandfather, who on earth has paid you for those stumps?

In a rage, Thunder strikes the great mast and disappears. The other Nats have high fun of it whilst they devour the pig or the buffalo, which Ningkong has served up to each one of them.

3. Arrival of the Kings and Peoples of the Earth.

Ningkong then calls the kings and the peoples of the earth. For that he beats the drum and at the same time the cock crows, the pig grunts and the ox bellows!

The Chinese are the first to hear; they ask themselves what is going on in the centre of the earth, and loaded with presents, the emperor in front, arrive at Ningkong's, there they admire the palace, the thunder-struck mast and especially the famous drum. They get acquainted with the Nats, dance a long time together, load Ningkong with their presents and return home enchanted.

The drum again sounds, the cock crows, the pig grunts and the ox bellows. This time it is the Kachins who hear and go to the centre of the world. Like the Chinese, they admire everything, waltz with the great spirits, make presents to Ningkong, and quite pleased return to their country. The drum sounds again, etc.,

and successively hear and do likewise with their chiefs in front :

The Shans, the Burmese and the Kalas, that's how Ningkong's palace, in the end, is quite full of rich presents.

4. Departure of the Nats : Ningkong becomes Ka-ang Du-wa

The Nats too give presents to Ningkong, and as a rule after devouring one or two pigs or buffaloes come quietly back home. La'n Roi Madai alone remains four days, swallows an ox, or a pig or a buffalo every morning, noon and evening, and still in the end refuses to go away without provisions for the road. But in the stable nothing remains; everything has been sacrificed. Ningkong, in order to satisfy his exacting brother, sends his men for a hunt. Ten times they beat the forest, not even a deer is seen; but every tenth time they see the same pheasant and finally decide to kill him. The dead bird at once changes himself into a fat buffalo whom they bring to Ningkong's. The latter has eight dishes of meat prepared and presents them to his brother. Then they exchange presents. La'n Roi Madai with gold and silver stands at the top of a ladder of ten rungs. Ningkong is at the foot with the buffalo head. He goes one step up, and his brother too lets down one step the gold and the silver. And so on, another going up and another going down till the head comes to the top of the ladder; then La'n Roi inhales the essence of it and disappears.

Ningkong gathers the riches which his brother leaves him and fixes the buffalo head on the principal stake of the palace.

Then it is the end of his first existence. Ningkong calls Madam and both die, or rather, as the Jai Wa puts it, return upon themselves; henceforth he is *Ka-ang Du-*

wa (chief of the middle of the earth) and she *Ka-ang Du-jan* (princess of the same empire).

5. Legend of Ningkong Wa's first Children

Before Ningkong became Ka-ang Du-wa, he had two sons: Kong Mingli and Phang Mingghy; and a girl, Jathoi. The elder brother is clever, but the younger is very simple. When they are somewhat big they together make fields; at harvest time the first takes everything and the other has nothing. A year later they decide to work each for himself; so, they each clear a *taungya* (plot for hill rice) burn it, and, at the season, the elder brother sows rice, maize, beans, etc. The poor younger brother has nothing of all that; he at random takes a bone of the buffalo's head fixed on a stake at the palace and belonging to the famous pheasant, grinds it into dust and goes to sow it. Some time later both brothers go to see their respective taungya, and back at home, " Brother, says the elder, " what is growing on your land? "

—Absolutely nothing. And on your land?

—I have everything: rice, maize, etc.

The younger brother is sad; nevertheless he soon returns to have another look. What is his surprise when he beholds in his taungya nothing less than buffaloes in great number playing together.

He comes to give the news to his brother, who cannot believe it, and who himself goes to see to make sure of it. And, it is a fact, he finds a great herd of black buffaloes. How to manage to claim a part of them for himself? With rice he quickly makes flour and during night, goes to mark white as many as he can.

The following morning :—

—Well, brother, says he, I went to see the buffaloes; what an amount of them! But, you know, those with spots are mine.

—O, if you like! yesterday, I saw only black ones.

—The two brothers then go together to the taungya, and great indeed is the astonishment of the younger brother when he sees that very many of them are spotted.

All these the elder brother takes as his own; he even becomes jealous of his brother's buffaloes which he tries by every means to diminish :

—Little brother, to-day you look ill, do sacrifice some buffaloes to the Nat, and you will become all right. And the younger brother sacrifices the animals asked for. Little brother, it rains too much; to have fine weather sacrifice to the Nat."

And the little brother again obeys.

One night the elder brother besmears the younger brother's head with honey; and in the morning :

—But, little brother, you have honey on your hair! Bad sign! quick to the Nats!

And little brother for ever obeys.

Nevertheless little brother has not only buffaloes; he has also succeeded in marrying a fine wife; and big brother should like to have her, because his wife is very ugly. Yet he dares not take her whilst her husband is alive; he plans to shut up quietly his brother in a coffin and to throw him into the river.

—Brother, says he one day, I have an idea.

—Let me hear it, brother.

—Do you see that tree? we will cut it down and make us nice warm beds for winter time with its trunk.

—A good idea, brother!

And both set to work, cut the tree, separate a piece of the trunk, split it into two and scoop out each one part.

When the hollow looks pretty large :

—You know, little brother, it is your bed we make first, try it!

—All right, brother! And the younger brother stretches himself in the coffin which happily is too short.

They once more scoop and hack and when they think it big enough :

—Try it yourself; now, big brother, I think it will do. And big brother, to encourage small brother to do likewise after him, stretches himself as well as he can on the pretended bed. He is hardly in it when small brother quickly puts the cover and properly ties up big brother. He then takes him on his shoulders and goes to hang him underneath the waterfall in the river where, from that time, his shade groans under the name of Tingnu Tingnai Sut Wan Kentai.

Little brother who has in this way got rid of his enemy, henceforth lives happy, becomes very rich and is the ancestor of many *dunis* (princes). At his death he is transformed into a Nat called Tingnu Tingnai Sut Wan Chingkha. (The Kachins invoke these two spirit brothers, simply called *Nungsu* (spirit of jealousy) to obtain the cure and the multiplication of their domestic animals, and to get rid of the evils which the envious can cause. They immolate to them fowls, pigs, etc.)

6. Legend of Jathoi

Jathoi grows up in the palace with her two brothers; she is very beautiful and soon asked to become the bride of the Laja Du-wa (chief of the Laja country, which is above heaven). The agreement is made and the moment for starting is there. But the damsel begins to weep when she looks at the buffalo head, stuck up on the stake.

They then give her a bride's maid to accompany her. Jathoi refuses to go and continually weeps, whilst she continually looks at the head. The bride's maid takes that head and throws it on the ground. Jathoi weeps more.

They finally put that wonderful head in her own basket; she then wipes away her tears and is willing to start and takes that precious treasure to the Laja's coun-

try. But when bidding farewell to her brothers, she invites them to come, when needful, to her country for oxen and buffaloes (1).

7. Origin of the Vow to give a Manau

A customary promise among the Kachins

One day the Du-wa Jinna Phung Makam falls sick and has a mind to eat crabs; he calls his daughter Jashwi.

—Jashwi, my child, I have a craving for crabs; go to the river and catch some.

Then the damsel, in order to know whether the fishing will be lucky, consults the Nats with Shapa Lap (Shapa leaf). The answer is unfavourable, and besides it is getting evening.

Jashwi returns to look after her father.

The following morning the sick is still hankering after crabs and sends his child to the river; on the way the Damsel sees leaves dancing to the murmuring of a soft breeze, and so beautiful it is that she stands the whole day in contemplation. In the evening father is a little better, but he always wants crabs. At day break the Damsel goes to the river where she meets a band of butterflies waltzing on the water; and so beautiful they are that she follows them to the sources of the river and to the country of the middle of the earth. She there passes through a great Nam-Shang (2) and arrives at the palace of the Ka-ang Du-wa (the ex-Ningkong).

—Lord grandfather, excuse me!

—Who are you?

—I am Jashwi; my father is ill, he sent me to fish crabs and the butterflies have led me to your palace.

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(1) According to my Jai-wa that country of the Laja is full of domestic animals and there it is he goes in spirit to buy a buffalo when he needs one for the Madai Nat.

(2) Sacred grove where the Kachins make sacrifices in common.

—Well, I will teach you how to cure your father.

—Grandfather, how kind of you!

—Listen well! when back home, tell your father to promise a Manau to the spirits and he will be cured at once.

—Lord grandfather, may your word be true!

—Then the Ka-ang Du-wa shows the palace to the damsel; he lets her see Madai's special altar, the altars of the other Nats, the great mast struck by thunder, etc., and lets her go only when he has given her all the information to make a Manau.

Jashwi then returns home and finds her father still more improved. She tells him Ka-ang Du-wa's very words. Jinna Phung Makam at once sends for a Jai-wa, who promises in Jinna's name a Manau to Madai and the other Nats. And the patient is immediately cured.

8. Origin of the Jathungs

A kind of satyr nats

One day the nine sons of Layau and Nangting (different from the nine whom Thunder has made prisoners) go a-hunting and start a deer, who takes refuge in a taungya where is at work an old woman Khrat nu Khrat nai, with her little girl Ningmai.

When the mother sees the animal coming, she quickly takes a leaf of the *Lapshan* (pointed leaf) and with it pierces the deer which falls dead at her feet. Almost immediately arrive the hunters who claim the animal as their own.

—If you can cut it up, says the old woman, have it!

They try in vain; their knives won't enter.

—Well, says the mother, I am going to cut it myself, and the meat is mine.

—And she takes immediately a katsan, or cutting leaf, and cuts up the deer. But the nine brothers take everything away and leave her only the heart.

The old woman then tries to roast it; no means; she boils it, it always remains hard. She throws it in the brushwood, and lo! it gives birth to a small Jathung; she again catches it and throws it near a large tree, then near a rock, and it produces again two little Jathungs. In a rage she goes to drown it in a whirlpool of the river.

Some days later the nine brothers and their sister Shwi Shingtai come to fish near where the old woman has thrown the heart of the deer; the men cannot catch anything.

Shwi Shingtai alone comes with the basket full of fish and her clothes in disorder; she had gone up to the whirlpool, the heart had violated her, and to gain her, had procured her a good haul; she dares not say a word about it to anyone and in silence goes back into her house with her brothers. The latter tell their father about this extraordinary event and the state in which their sister has returned.

Layan wants to know the whole truth about it, he puts on his daughter's dress and is off to the whirlpool.

He is hardly there when the heart jumps upon him, but he catches it and makes it a prisoner.

—Dear father-in-law, says the heart, I had not at first recognised you.

—How! I your father-in-law!

—But surely, father-in-law, the other day I married your daughter Shwi Shingtai!

—Keep quiet! follow me to my house, and we shall see later on. The heart must obey and present itself in chains before its well-beloved. Both entreat the father to consent to their marriage.

—In that case what will you give me for my daughter?

—Whatsoever you wish; the animals of the forest are mine; how many of them do you want?

—If you bring me fifty, it will do.

—Alright, four days more and they are yours.

The father then lets go the heart; still he would not be willing to give his daughter to a Jathung, and to make quite sure that his future son-in-law is no Jathung he prepares seven cups of water with a mixture of ginger.(1)

On the appointed day Layau sees a great herd of bison, deer, etc., coming up; they are led by the heart entirely out of breath. The father-in-law gives the heart his daughter Shwi Shingtai, and the seven cups as refreshment. The heart is so thirsty that at first it does not feel the taste of the ginger, and drinks the water in one gulp; but it makes at once such a wry face and sneezes so hard that deer and bison, all in a fright, return to the forests. Heart and Shwi Shingtai also run off far away and under the name of Wasan Wa and Wasan Jan establish themselves on the great mountain of Umum Bum, alias Thingkha Bum.

There they soon have children. The first, La'n Kam, is born with a large mouth and a crest on his head; the parents are afraid and chase him to the mountain of Kalang Senkong Bum where he still lives under the name of Lepmu Lep Mai. All those who unhappily meet him, become mad.

The second is a girl 'n Kaw, so ugly that they send her to the great rocks Lung Yi Lung La (near the sea shore), where she is known by the name of Pilon Pilai, a spirit who is also capable of making people mad.

La'n Nawn, second son, remains on earth and annoys everybody under the name of Daru Ningyaum.

La'n La is the famous Tungra Shung Makam, whom we saw going to the waterfall to refresh himself, where he foams and groans up to this day.

La'n Tu is the companion of the Thunder; he it is who strikes under the name of Mashaw She.

Useless to continue; it is enough to know that those Jathungs are legion and that you find some of them in all

(1) The Kachins say this drug chases the Jathungs.

the thick forests, near the great mountains, on the river banks, near waterfalls, trees, rocks, etc. Yet I will name those whom hunters and fishermen invoke, because the Jathungs are supposed to be the masters of game and fishes.

9. Spirits of the Chase

Before the hunt there is, as a rule, no sacrifice; but if they get no animal on the run whilst beating the forest, eggs or fowls are offered to the following Jathungs :

Bum Nu, spirit and guardian of the mountains.
Khang Shi, spirit of the foot-paths.
Mali Nu, spirit of the forests.
Shayit, spirit of salt water springs.

When these great spirits' good-will has been secured, hunting is continued. When any animal is shot, they at once, and on that spot, offer blood with leaves to Nshun Wa Masha and Ringnam Wa, who are supposed to help the hunters by closing the eyes and stopping the ears of the game.

As they come home they offer seven pieces of meat to Tsi Kanu Kientsi Marum Yangtsi Madum, who also favours the hunters and watches over the heads of game stuck on the stakes before the house.

10. Spirits of the Fishing

Fishermen also have their special divinities.

Matupdu-wa, Jathung, chief of the confluents, and Tingnu Tingnai Sutwan Kentai, or more simply Nungsu, the famous brother who groans in the coffin under the waterfall; to both and to the Sawns of the river banks, and to the Chai Maraung they offer, before a first class fishing, fowls, pigs, etc. After this nothing more is sacrificed to them, but once back home, there is a pnart of the fishes for the Nats who are honoured in the house. The Jathungs can cause serious maladies.

When a sorcerer declares that it is a Jathung, who bites (causes sickness), the Kachins tell their Dumsa (priest) to offer him a pig, a dog and five fowls; after this they send back the Jathung to his ancestors Wasan Wa and Wasan Jan. To drive away the Jathungs, they cut ginger into small bits, which they strew where they suppose some of those evil spirits are residing. None of them can bear the smell of it.

II. Origin and Cure of Madness

A Jathung, son of La'n Kam Lepmu Lepmai could transform himself into a man and into a caterpillar.

One day he transforms himself into a fine young man called Praw-lat and marries a real young girl called Praw-lu.

Praw-lu has many brothers who go in for cutting taungyas; they invite Praw-lat to come and help them. He promised, arrives, but is no more to be seen the whole day. They call him to eat rice; nobody comes. They again call him, he doesn't even answer. That very moment a caterpillar comes near and tries to take some rice; they drive it away; it comes back once more, they drive it off with the stroke of a knife.

In the evening Praw-lu is quite surprised to hear from her brothers that her husband has done nothing at the taungyas.

—Where have you been the whole day? She asks Praw-lat. At the taungyas, to be sure!

—But my brothers have not seen you at work!

—I have felled trees the whole time; then when there was question of eating, they have driven me away and struck me with a knife repeatedly; look, the marks of it are still on my forehead. And at these words he transforms himself into a caterpillar, bites his wife in her breasts and disappears.

From this moment Praw-lu becomes entirely mad; in vain do her brothers sacrifice to the Nats, not one Nat brings her relief. They then offer to the Jathung La'n Kam Lep Mu Lep Mai a goat, a pig and a dog; and the sick woman at once gets back her reason. (In cases of madness the Kachins of our time offer the same sacrifices; to Lep Mu Lep Mai or to his sister Pilon Pilai, they always offer pigs and dogs; as to goats or he-goats, sometimes they sacrifice them, sometimes they dress them with the clothes of the mad person and chase them far off into the forests.

12. Origin of the Sawns

Evil Nats who attack especially lying-in women

The rice will soon be ripe in the taungyas and Miss Shwi chases the birds, who come to eat it. A monkey comes to court her and finally marries her. The poor girl dies in child-bed near a Kaitu (sort of palm-tree) and her shade becomes the first female Sawn. The little one survives and his father takes him on his shoulders and starts for *Kha Khu* (sources of the Irrawady). There the *Lajuni* (people of the country), strangle the monkey whose shade is also changed into the first male Sawn, and they roast the child of whom they make an excellent meal. Men and women who have tasted of it, at once fall sick. Useless to sacrifice to all the Nats, not one relieves them. Then Karai Kasang comes down and sits on the shoulders of one of those on the point of death; the sick man recognises Karai Kasang, and, O grandfather, says he, cure me!

Haven't you with your chums roasted and eaten a small monkey?

—I have, grandfather, but you, do take pity on us.

—Well! it's a little Sawn you devoured and who now bites you. Make seven offerings to his parents and

you shall be cured. The sick quickly sacrifice to the sawns a pig, a dog and five fowls and are immediately hale and sound.

The first two Sawns establish themselves above the clouds at 'nLung Shabyi Shawng Ka under the names of Pren Rua and Yung Majan, and have a great number of boys and girls, who now-a-days take pleasure in making the living suffer and die, so to lay hold of their Minla (soul); they attack especially the lying-in women. (When a Kachin thinks he has been bitten by a Sawn—and that often happens—he calls a Dumsa, who offers to that Nat the seven presents mentioned above; if he objects to go away, they frighten him with gun-shots and burn rags, pepper and other things which by their unbearable stench force the Sawn to clear out.)

13. Origin of the Lasas (1) and the 'Ndangs (2)

One morning Lapiula and his wife Shawonem go a-fishing. They are hardly at the river bank, when Layongleng, one of the principal Lepsanams (3) catches Shawonem and carries her off to his house, a great cavern in the midst of the mountains. The husband takes a fly for a guide, and off he is after them; to open his way, he must kill nine dogs and nine Maraungs (4), then he arrives at Bawng Shing Krang's.

—Brother, haven't you seen Layongleng taking away my wife, pass this way?

—Yes, they passed just a minute ago; but useless to run after them, you shall never find back your wife! if ever you bring her back, you make fire on my head for

(1) The Lasas are evil spirits who try to make people die a violent death.

(2) The 'nDangs are the same spirits as the Sawns.

(3) The Lepsanam is a winged monster of unknown origin and living on big game and human flesh.

(4) The Maraung is a kind of goblin nat.

nine days. Lapiula makes no reply to the joke and walks on; he comes to Shingrang Lakang's.

—Brother, haven't you seen Layongleng taking away my wife, pass this way?

—They have just now passed; but you may give up your wife; look here! when you bring her back I will make you a bridge over the Irrawady with my leg.

Lapiula then meets Monutsha.

—Brother, haven't you seen Layongleng taking away my wife, pass this way?

—They passed a minute ago; but stop running after them! With the dirt of my eyes I take it upon myself to trouble the river, if ever you see again your wife.

In spite of all that chaff Lapiula walks and walks and finally reaches a deep cavern where he finds his wife quite alone.

—Where is Layongleng?

—Out hunting.

—Then, let's be off quick!

—Not yet, the monster with his wings would quickly catch us up and kill us.

—Then, what's to be done?

—I will hide you underneath that heap of wood, and at night when the old fellow is snoring, we shall settle him; afterwards we shall be free.

—You are right.

And Shawonem hides her husband under the bundles of wood. Layongleng soon arrives; from under his wings he takes out a wild boar and a deer which he gives to Shawonem to roast at once; then a minute later:

—But, dear, there's a smell of human flesh this evening, what's the matter?

—How do you expect there should not be a smell of human flesh from the time I am with you!

The Nat is satisfied with the answer; he goes to sleep out his fatigue and stirs only when the wild boar and the

deer are served up at table; he devours them, falls asleep and very soon begins to snore heavily.

—Now is the time! says the woman to Lapiula, who comes out of his hiding place, and with one stroke of the knife cuts off the monster's head.

The couple, now unafraid, again take the road to their house. On their way they meet Minutsha, who cannot trouble the Irrawady with the dirt of his eyes; Shingrang Lakang who cannot make a bridge over the river with his leg; Baung Shingkrang who cannot bear fire on his head; to make them pay for their insults, Lapiula kills the three of them, and their shades at once become Lasas.

When Shawonem is back in her house, she is on the point of becoming mother; she hankers after fruit, but she is unable to pluck it. Her husband then climbs on the tree and wants to cut off a branch; he aims badly and cuts off one of his arms with a stroke of his knife. The blood is streaming out and Lapiula soon dies; his shade is transformed into a great Lasa with long hair and a mouth full of blood; from that time he takes his pleasure in sucking men's blood and makes them die, like himself, a violent death. He is called Sathi due-wa Sawa du Chaupa and lives in the Lasa country at Kamauraung Ka, a little above the mountain where the first Sawns are. When Shawonem looks at her husband who died for her, she cannot bear the sorrow and tries to put an end to her life. She suspends to the fruit-tree with a very thin thread, the very knife which killed Lapiula, and comes and stretches herself, just underneath; the breeze detaches the sharp weapon which falls down and pierces the womb of the unhappy widow, and she dies of the suffering caused by the wound and child birth.

Her soul becomes 'ndang, a kind of Sawn and goes to join Pren Rua and Yung Majan, first Sawns.

(Lasas and 'ndangs are feared very much because, in order to increase their number, they try to make people die a violent death or in child-bed, which is the greatest calamity for the Kachins; in the same way, the imprecations "*Lasa Sina,* thou shalt die, *lasa!* and *'ndang Sina,* mayest thou die *'ndang!*" are the greatest insults and naturally the most frequently heard.)

14. Origin of the Maraungs (1)

Phrungu Latang is penniless and to live tries to sell his slave Phung Nang Toisang. He first takes him to the village on the hill where the people sacrifice a buffalo to the Nats; the slave licks the blood which has dropped on the ground.

—But your slave is mad, they tell him, go and sell him elsewhere!

Phungru Latang takes him back home and the following day goes with him to the village below. There they kill a pig, and again the slave amuses himself with licking up the blood.

—Go and sell your man elsewhere; he has no understanding!

The poor master again goes home; whilst they pass through a taungya, the slave begins to walk backwards and to eat rice in the blade.

—My slave is really mad, says Phungru Latang, and he gives him a great stroke with a spear.

The slave totters and falls dead on the road, which he blocks with his body. Some days later Phungru goes to town to sell goats' hair, which he swops against a fowl.

On his way back he stops in a Shan village to pass the night there. A child has died a while ago in the house where he is lodged. When all are asleep, our man eats the fowl and puts feathers in the dead child's mouth.

Then, in the morning : " Where on earth is my fowl? Who has eaten my fowl "?

—Nobody has touched your fowl!

—The dead has devoured it; see, he has still feathers in his mouth!

—The parents cannot deny it, and as a compensation they give a horse, a buffalo, etc. Phungru refuses everything.

—Then, take the dead himself!

He is willing, he puts the small corpse on his back and starts on his way. He stops at the entry of another village, puts down his load and covers it with green leaves.

Very soon oxen and buffaloes come to eat the green leaves and to trample on the dead. Then our man goes to the owners of the animals, who have, he says, killed his child, and as a fine, he exacts from them tom-toms, horses; buffaloes, etc.

He drives the animals in front of him, beats the tom-toms and returns home quite jolly.

But when he comes on the spot where the corpse of the slave blocks the road, the tom-toms give no longer any sound, and the animals refuse to advance; urging them on, beating them, all is perfectly useless.

He then offers a fowl to the worms, who are gnawing Phung Nang Toisang's body, and everything again advances as usual. At that very moment all the worms, brothers and sisters, soar up and become Maraungs and father and mother of Maraungs.

The first, La'n Kam, is the *Share Maraung* (goblin of the silver); those who want to make money must, before any undertaking, offer him a fowl to be rid of him.

The second, *Num'n Kaw* (a girl), is the *Pari Maraung* (goblin of the thread), the women must also sacrifice a fowl to him, to be able to spin or knit in peace. And so forth. Fly away :

Pu Pharan Maraung, goblin of the incendiaries.
Kha Maraung, goblin of the pleaders.
Nga Lang Maraung, goblin of the sacrifices of animals.
Mam Maraung, goblin of the new rice.
Kajai Maraung, goblin of renown.
Chai Maraung, goblin of the feasts.
Manau Maraung, goblin of the manaus.
Atsauwaphraw Maraung, goblin of beaus and belles.
Mang Changai Maraung, goblin of lying-in women, etc.

(Things being so, the poor Kachins can hardly take a step without meeting a Maraung; to get rid of his vexation, they must send him off with a fowl to his ancestors who live in the north in a cavern at Kadu Tingnu Singkrat Lung Pu.)

13. Origin of the Phyis (Sorcerers), of the Lapsawps and the Tungtai Tungpras

We have seen Shwi Shingtai being born of the two children who are saved from the deluge; although a witch, she does not yet cast an evil eye.

It is only her children of the seventh generation and their descendants, who become real *Phyis* and do mischief to the neighbours. In nearly every Kachin village there is some sorcerer or witch. The sorcerers are supposed to have seven minlas, or souls, and it is the seventh which they can send to do mischief to others. The Kachins often think they have been bitten by the Phyis and offer them sacrifices similar to those for the Nats.

Before the coming of the English they killed those whom they knew to be sorcerers, and went far away to sell their children. Now that they may no longer kill them, they try to make them go away from their midst; if they do not succeed, they have as little as possible to

do with them, and they always are very much afraid of them. Some people, to preserve themselves from the Phyis, carry in their bag, or attached to their clothes, a sort of amulet made with the root of a plant called Yu Tsi. It looks like a small rat, and one can also eat it as a remedy.

The seventh soul or minla of a sorcerer, in order to do mischief, often transforms herself into a small mouse, *lasawp*, or into a hairy caterpillar, *tumgtai tungpra*. The lasawp can enter by any opening whatever into the body of a man or of an animal, and if he comes up to the heart, causes death. The aforementioned amulet is either a preservative against, or a cure for, it. If one can kill a lasawp, it is the sorcerer himself who dies; the same happens when one kills a tungtai tungpra. This caterpillar does not cause death, but it brings about a sharp pain, which lasts several days. You are cured at once if you are lucky enough to have with you a hair of the *tungtai kanu* (ancestor caterpillar) with which you take away the poison deposited by the caterpillar's daughter.

16. Origin of the Mazum Nats or companion spirits (1)

When Ningkong Wa forged the earth and shaped man, and made the sun and the moon throw their light, a multitude of Nats are also to be seen. They live on the same earth with men and are their companions.

As soon as they meet men, they make an alliance; the men take it on themselves to feed the companion Nats and the latter promise not to make the children weep and not to upset the water jars. That peace is still lasting; the Kachins look upon the Mazum Nats as their friends and protectors, they implore their help against their enemies, either men, or spirits, Jathungs, Sawns, etc.;

(1) Goblins who cause no great sickness, but only vexations. Some Kachins say that Mazums are only the shades of the dead.

to place their undertakings under their protection, and in sickness they order them to procure for them medicines from the country of the sun, etc., etc.

In return they make to them sacrifices of beer, fowls, pigs, etc. These Nats are good spirits; yet when they feel hungry they also bite and send men sickness to remind them of feeding them.

The common people alone honour them, and as a rule they have an altar in every house; the chiefs do not know the Mazums, and invoke the help of their ancestors Ningkong Wa and Co.

17. Origin of the Jakha

A kind of Nat who watches the fields

Ningkong Wa has hardly finished forging the earth when a chip splits off, and out of it comes a Jakha, a spirit at the disposal of the lords. These lords offer the Jakha from time to time, as the sorcerer tells them, fowls, pigs, etc., and entrust him with the care of their goods.

In the rainy season, they take him to the fields or to the taungyas and make him field-keeper of their rice. At harvest time they take him back home and make him look after everything, loft, garden, etc. This spirit's specialty is to cover the thieves with small pimples, who offer to him on the sly, eggs, fowls, etc., to get cured and not to be recognised.

CHAPTER II

RITUAL

1. Origin of the Sacrifices to the Sun

There was once upon a time an orphan who was so poor that he had not even a knife. With his hands he breaks off a branch of a tree and uses it to dig up Nai (yams). But his yams disappear as soon as he turns his back to work again. He hides himself and very soon sees the thief come, a little pig, which he catches and kills.

Unhappily the nine brothers, sons of Layan, arrive suddenly, take away the meat and leave only the guts for the poor orphan. He goes to wash them in the river; up comes a crocodile who steals the guts, but the child rushes after the animal, kills it, cuts it up, and finds in its stomach an amount of gold. He fills nine pots with it and comes home, quite rich and in high spirits. Then he thinks of marrying one of the princesses, a daughter of the Du-wa, who lives near by. He goes to the palace and finds the damsels busy weaving before the portico.

" Holla, belles! says he, who will comb my head?

" Has one ever seen a princess killing the lice of an orphan! Go and have yourself picked elsewhere; " they answer in a chorus. Still, the youngest, full of compassion, goes near the child and begins to unravel his hair; and finding gold on the head, off she is to give the news to her father the Kenyan Du-wa.

—Bring him here, let me see!

And the damsel goes to fetch the child.

—Have you much of this gold? says he.

—I have nine pots of it at home and I will give you the whole for the damsel here present.

The Du-wa reflects a while and seeing there a good bargain :

—Well! go and bring your gold, after that you shall have my girl.

The orphan runs home and is back at once with his treasure, which he gives to his father-in-law. Then the Du-wa makes the damsel over to him and adds a magic spear on condition that his son-in-law brings him whatever he has shot.

The orphan accepts and goes home in a happy mood with his princess. On the way he sees fowls, pheasants, deer, etc.; each thrust of the spear brings down a piece, and he comes back to give them to the Du-wa. He then sees a huge pig and throws his weapon at it. But this time the animal is only wounded and it runs away dragging behind the famous spear. The child rushes after the pig and chases it very far up to the stables of Lord Sun who makes the child a prisoner.

Ashamed of having chased a pig belonging to such a great lord, the orphan makes great excuses and gets back his freedom. He even secures the good will of the Sun, who presents him with a small pig, on condition that, later on, when the animal is thick and fat, he sacrifice it in his honour.

The child agrees and returns home.

Long after a turtle dove stops before his house, and seeing a cockroach in good condition :

—What a fine figure you cut, brother! say, what do you eat?

—The master has killed the pig, and I got a jolly good bit of it!

The turtle dove spreads the news among the birds and the Sun also hears of it. Seeing that the child has not kept his promise, the Sun is furious and sends the child a great sickness. Meanwhile the Sun wants to see for himself and to make sure of the truth of the news which he heard himself, he goes down. On the way he asks all the birds, but not one can certify the news; every-

one has heard it from someone else! Finally he addresses himself to the turtle dove.

—Isn't it you, who the first of all, have spread the news that the orphan has eaten the pig?

Yes, I have said it, but I got the information from the cockroach!

The Sun finally arrives at the child's house, where he is happy to see that the pig is still alive; and to punish the cockroach for his lie, he presses it so tight between two fingers that the little liar has, on that account, remained flat till now. He then devours the thick, fat pig they sacrifice to him, cures the sick and gives him a heap of presents. From that time the orphan is happy because he has married a princess and also because he is immensely rich.

(And from that time Kachin chiefs and big wigs offer to the Sun fowls, pigs, oxen, etc.).

2. Origin of the Sacrifices to Bungphoi (or Mashaw Shwi, or Jennat Lup, or Maulup), Great Nat, Spirit of the Storms, Daughter of Thunder

The Ka-ang Du-wa wants to give a Manau and sends all his people to catch fish. But nowhere do they find bamboos to make basket-nets. An orphan, called Khrai Mai, sees in a dream three bamboos. The Ka-ang Du-wa orders him to go and point them out; and they are off in great numbers to bring them. The first they cut jumps up and is lost in the sky; the second sinks into the ground, the third alone remains on the spot and is immediately cut into bits to be made into nets. They leave to the orphan only the bad end of the bamboo, and the poor fellow can hardly make a small basket out of it; moreover, when he goes with the others to the river, he is chased from all the good spots; Khrai Mai, in despair, throws at random his net into the water. The following

morning they come and tell him there is a big fish in his basket. He goes to see and finds only a stone, which he throws far away. He puts the net back in the water and soon after they come again and tell him he has caught a huge fish. He again goes down to the river and finds in his basket the same stone as before. This time he puts it in his bag, and when back at home, shuts it up in a box.

He then goes to work on the taungyas, and in the evening, when he steps into his house, how surprised he is to find a well prepared supper, without being able to know who has prepared it.

—The same thing the day after. On the third day he is determined to clear up the mystery; he pretends to go to the field, then returns to spy through the partition chinks into the house.

He soon sees the box open, the stone coming out of it and transforming itself into a fine damsel who begins to cook.

Then Khrai Mai enters and catches her.

—Is it you who cook my rice?

—Yes!

—And who are you?

—I am a child of the Thunder, and it is my father who has sent me to marry you and instruct you.

—How very kind of the great Thunder thus to pity a poor orphan!

True, the damsel brings Khrai Mai happiness, but money, none! And as the time to cut the taungyas is there, he has not even a knife to work with.

—Do go and ask father for a knife, says his wife.

—But how to reach his place?

—It's very simple! shut your eyes and lift your feet!

The orphan shuts his eyes, lifts his feet and there, he is at Thunder's.

—Good father-in-law, I haven't a knife to cut the taungya.

—Don't bother over such a trifle, my little one; after four days I shall send your brothers-in-law to work for you. On the fixed day, Thunder beats the drum and gathers Cloud, Rain, Wind, Lightning, who in a wink cut the taungya and sow pumpkins on it.

Soon after, the inhabitants burn the taungyas and sow rice; poor Khrai Mai has not even one grain; he shuts his eyes, lifts his feet and arrives at Thunder's.

—Father-in-law, I have no rice to sow!

—Are there no pumkins growing on your taungya?

—Yes, father-in-law!

—Well! go and weed them and don't bother about rice. The child obeys and goes to weed the pumpkins. The others soon cut their harvest and he is ashamed because he has nothing. He shuts his eyes, lifts his feet and stands before Thunder.

—Grandfather! the others reap and I have nothing.

—Are the pumpkins ripe?

—Yes, father-in-law.

—Well, make a loft, and after four days your brothers-in-law shall go and reap for you!

The fourth day Thunder beats the drum and convokes Cloud, Wind, Rain, Lightning, who go down on Khrai Mai's taungya and gather the pumpkins; then they split every one of them into two, and, O wonder! nothing but rice comes out of them. The orphan's loft is full.

But Khrai Mai has not yet a knife and he needs one to make *pilis* (bamboo strings). He shuts his eyes, lifts his feet, and there he is at the old man's place.

—Father-in-law, lend me a knife to prepare pilis.

—Take the one in the corner.

—Father-in-law, it doesn't cut enough, kindly give me for a while the best.

—It is dangerous and you don't know how to manage it.

—I do, father-in-law, let me have it for a little minute only.

—Well! there it is; take care not to shake it and bring it soon back. Khrai Mai goes home quite pleased and whilst his wife is weaving near him, he at once sees to the pilis and has a look also at the rice spread out in the sun.

A hen comes to steal rice, and to chase her the orphan brandishes the knife, and lo! lightning flashes out of it, kills the hen and beheads Madam, Thunder's daughter. Quick Khrai Mai shuts his eyes, lifts his feet and comes weeping to his father-in-law's residence.

—Have pity! here is your knife; it has killed my wife!

—Is the body putrefying?

—O no! She died just now.

—In that case I shall go down to make her alive again.

And Thunder is very soon in his daughter's presence. He puts back her head on her neck, and behold! she is again alive. But he takes her back with him.

When leaving Khrai Mai, she tells him : my name is Masaw Shwi, offer me the sacrifices which I shall ask, and every year when you burn the taungyas, I shall come to stir the fire.

And she disappeared with her father.

(And from that time, when the Kachins are going to burn the taungyas and also frequently during the year, they offer to her in the sacred grove fowls, pigs or what she asks for through the soothsayer.

They call her very often Bungphoi, storm, and when they think her to be angry, Jinnat Lup, or Maulup.)

3. Origin of the first and Principal Officials and of the Objects of Worship

When the earth begins to be inhabited Karai Kasang, in order to teach mankind, creates and sends Lungli Lung

(a great rock different from the one which made Thunder a cripple). This rock knows everything and answers the diverse consultations of those who have recourse to it in their sicknesses, undertakings, etc.

But very soon Lungli Lung has too much work and cannot answer all the questions.

Then the men think of dividing it; they lift it up into the air and throw it down with all their might on the ground; the rock bursts and gives birth to:

A Dumsa, priest.
A Jai-wa, bard and archpriest.
A Myithoi, seer, great soothsayer.
A Kunphan, common soothsayer.

Then to a multitude of small stones (Lungli Lungni) and other objects, which know the future and which the Kachins make use of to know the will of the Nats:

Jaba Lap, leaf of the Jaba shrub.
Shaman, sort of small bamboo.
Pase, bamboo sticks and other objects.
Langa Laphaw, leaf of wild-plantain tree.
Wuntu, thatching grass, etc., etc.

The men wondering to see so many things appear, at once make use of them in the case of a sick child.

The Dumsa pase wawtai consults the Nats with the pase. The answer is that a companion Nat bites the child to have tea and fish. They give tea and fish to the Nat, and the child is a little better.

The day after the Dumsa Jabalap wawtai consults the spirits with the Jaba leaf.

This time the companion Nat asks a fowl; they offer him a fowl and the child is again a little better.

The third day, the Dumsa Shaman wawtai consults with the bamboo.

The bamboo answers that the companion Nat wants a pig; they offer him a pig and the child is better and better.

The Dumsa again asks and the bamboo answers that the companion Nat has fowls and pigs enough and wishes now to have a buffalo. But the child's parents have no buffalo to offer; then the sick child is worse; at once the parents make a vow to offer a buffalo as soon as they are able, and meanwhile offer another pig to the companion Nat, and the child is immediately cured. The parents later on reap rice in abundance, become rich and offer the buffalo they had promised.

And from that time the Kachins in their sicknesses act nearly in the same manner.

4. Origin of the Phye or Sharu

rice beer, rice wine

One fine morning Madam the princess of the middle of the earth (Ka-ang Du-jan), wife of the Ka-ang Du-wa, ex-Ningkong, feels a sharp pain in her breasts. She presses them and out of them come an amount of grains : kalat, chingchy, lapjab, kaiphu, tungtai, lap khai, lap kha, majab, etc. She goes to sow them and soon they become small shrubs. Yet Madam does not know what it is, and dares not touch either roots or leaves. But the porcupine and the wild cat have found out these new plants and feed their young with them; the porcupine's young ones are thick and fat, the wild cat's quite lean.

The princess first addresses herself to the porcupine and asks what the shrubs taste like.

—Madam, says he, the roots are good, but the leaves contain poison.

—Not at all, interrupts the wild cat, it's the leaves which are good and the roots bad!

The princess does not know whom to believe, and plucks at random some leaves and some roots, which she crushes together and tastes afterwards. But she at once falls sick and nearly dies. When she is again well, she

one evening sets a trap for the porcupine in the rice fields, and another for the wild cat near the hen-coop.

The following morning she has made them both prisoners.

—Ah! the liars! I have you! let me kill you both!

—But, Madam, says the porcupine, it isn't I who have told you a lie!

—Then it is you, wild cat?

—Madam, I did not know, spare me, I will give you compensation!

—And what can you give me?

—Madam, I have only my portrait and here it is!

The princess accepts and lets go the two animals, and at the next Manau, she exhibits in the decorations the portrait of the wild cat (and this is what the Kachins in their feasts are doing till this day).

Madam again plucks leaves and roots, but this time only according to the porcupine's instructions; after that, she calls on the birds : ugu, uyen, kunli kuka, and ukum to grind them both and make *matsi* (yeast, ferment). When the yeast is ready, she prudently makes kunli-kuka and ukum taste it.

Madam understands that her matsi has at last succeeded; she puts a little of it in *tsa,* cooked rice, to get it to ferment, then adds water, and makes the famous phye or sharu of which the Kachins are so fond. (And from that time, there is no Kachin family, be it ever so poor, which does not find the means of making in this way several jars of beer every year).

5. Origin of Marriage
first, for the people

It is Miss Grass and Miss Bamboo, who are the first to marry. That's why grass grows now everywhere and the number of bamboos cannot be counted.

When the common people see that multiplication, they also think of taking a wife. One of them asks as

wife Shwiching Kong; but his brother Shadang Lasha quickly takes the knife and the sack and wants to go himself.

—Brother, says his sister, why go yourself? Stay rather at home and enjoy the phu (price of a bride). And, whilst saying these words, the damsel puts her basket on her back and starts.

The following day Shadang Lasha receives in payment of his sister tom-toms, clothes, phye, oxen, buffaloes, etc.

(This legend is told by the Dumsa to the young couple, the evening of their marriage, when he calls down upon the bride the favour of the Nats (Num Lanyi Di) and wishes both to be prosperous like the grass and the bamboos.)

SECOND, FOR THE PRINCES

The mountains and the rivers marry first: Bumla marries Bum Yi and the Mali Kha joins 'n Mai Kha. Then Miss Crocodile marries Ningkong Wa. Miss Madai Prawna is the first to leave the house and to marry Shingra Prawja (1).

(These fables and the genealogy of the princes and other fables are told by the Jai Wa, the whole night which follows the marriage of the lords. It is only at daybreak he goes away, expressing the hope that the young couple may multiply and become great like the rivers and the mountains.)

6. Shingra Prawja, Ningkong Wa's Grandson, marries Madai Jan Prawna, Daughter of La'n Roi Madai.

Ningkong having become Ka-ang Du-wa has a son, Ja Rua, and a daughter Ja Pientingsa, who in their turn give birth to Shingra Prawja. The latter is old enough to marry and it is decided to ask for him Madai Jan Prawna, daughter of La'n Roi Madai (great Nat).

Consequently they send to the great spirit a *Salang* (important individual) called Chengreng Wa. The messenger, splendidly dressed and wearing a magnificent helmet, presents himself at Madai's residence.

—Good day, grandfather!

—Who are you?

—I am Chengreng Wa, Salang of the middle of the earth.

—What do you want?

—I come in the Ka-ang da-wa's name to ask in marriage your daughter.

—And how do you call your du-wa?

—My du-wa is called Ka-ang du-wa.

Ka-ang du-wa! my daughter Prawna! these two names cannot go together. Go and tell your du-wa I cannot accept his proposal.

The Salang returns and gives the answer which makes the Ka-ang du-wa a bit ashamed. Then Khrai mai, the orphan, addresses him:

—My Lord, with your leave, I shall go myself to ask for Miss Madai and I promise to bring her here.

—But you are only an orphan whom they won't even admit.

—My Lord, send me and you shall see!

—Look at those two crows there far off; can you tell the male from the female?

—My lord, the male is on top and the female below.

—And those two leopards?

—My lord, the male is on the left, and the female on the right.

—And those two snakes?

—My lord, the male has a long tail, the female a short tail.

—But you look clever! have another trial! And showing him two buffaloes of equal size; tell me which is the father and which is the son!

—My lord, the father is in front and the son behind.

—It is well, my little Khrai Mai; you are a clever man and I send you to ask for Miss Madai.

The orphan starts at once and when arriving at the great Nat's :

—Lord, excuse me!

—Who are you?

—I am Khrai Mai, the Ka-ang du-wa has sent me.

—And that du-wa, what does he want?

—The young lady your daughter in marriage.

—And what's his name?

—And what is the damsel's name?

—My daughter's name is Prawna.

—My du-wa's Prawja.

—Really, these two names go splendidly together : Prawna, Prawja! Yes, that will do! Go and tell your du-wa I shall give him my daughter when he has given me the *numphu* (price for a bride).

—But, my lord grand-father, I have promised to bring the young lady with me.

—And the price?

—My lord, I promise you also that the Ka-ang du-wa will pay for the damsel.

—All right, my little one. Then calling his daughter : " Prawna, dress, and with this guide go down to the Ka-ang du-wa's; for my son-in-law here is this knife, and this spear, and these vegetable seeds "! Prawna puts these presents into her basket and accompanied by Khrai mai soon arrives at the palace of the lord of the middle of the earth. The lord promises to give soon a Manau for her marriage; but the young lady has hardly presented her father's gifts when the basket which contains them becomes *laron phun* (a tree called laron); the knife, *latsai phun;* the spear, *laja phun,* and her ear-rings, *katsan phun.*

7. The Ka-ang Du-wa gives a Manau

The wonderful trees are growing before the door of the palace and continually remind the Ka-ng Du-wa that he has promised a Manau and has not yet paid for his wife. One year, when he has rice in abundance, he makes up his mind to fulfil his promises. With the laron phun he makes a drum and with the laja phun an altar for Madai, his father-in-law; the latsai phun gives him columns to be put up in front of the house and to announce the feast; and those who lead the dances will carry solemnly leaves of the katsan phun.

When all is ready Shingra Prawja sends the *ukaw* (a large bird) to call his father-in-law and to invite the Nats. All arrive except La'n Kam and La'n Khyn. La'n Roi Madai leads even all his family; come likewise all the Kachin chiefs and their people who this time are the only ones who have been invited. After the customary dances and presents, they return home carrying off the notion of how to make a manau.

The Nats also go away after having, every one of them, taken a hearty meal. La'n Roi Madai, on the contrary, remains the whole time; twice he takes three meals a day, and twice, four; and at each meal he swallows a buffalo or a pig. He finally goes away with the price of his daughter and a buffalo as food for the road.

(From that time the Kachin chiefs give manaus copied from the one mentioned above; their drum must be of laron wood; Madai's altar of laja; the pillars of latsai, and those who lead the dances carry katsan leaves, etc.).

As of old, it is the Madai, who has the principal rôle and who devours 14 buffaloes or pigs, leaving aside those he exacts for the road. Apropos of this great spirit, I have, through curiosity, allowed my Jai-wa to go and catch and offer him an ox, and to take him back home, as he does in the Manaus. In imagination the poor old man

starts towards the west, names a lot of countries, rivers, mountains, mounts, mounts, mounts still higher and arrives at last at Madai's. In the name of the Du-wa who gives the feast, he invites him and brings him through an amount of new worlds. They arrive together from the east side, and re-enter the chief's palace where everybody begins to dance and feast his presence. Madai then takes his seat on a special altar and it is before that altar the Jai-wa sings his legends whilst outside they sacrifice buffaloes and pigs. The second day the Jai-wa interrupts his recital to offer in his own name a sacrifice to the famous spirit. He again starts westward, crosses any amount of countries, admires Ningkong's palace, fills with gold his bag, when passing underneath the tree of riches, goes up, goes up, and finally there he is in the Laja ka, the country, as we saw before, of the huge herds of domestic animals. There he discusses the price of an ox, finally buys the animal, ties it with a rope, comes back from the East side and in his own name offers to Madai this new victim.

When the feast is over, there are still formalities to send the spirit away. The Jai-wa tells him how happy they have been to receive him, reminds him of the number of buffaloes and pigs killed in his honour, asks of him prosperity and riches for the Du-wa, who gave the Manau, points out to him, naming mountains and valleys, the road which will take him home and finally gives him a buffalo for food on the way.

8. Genealogy of the Kachin Chiefs

The Kachin chiefs descend directly from Ningkong Wa himself. When Ningkong Wa has become Ka-ang Du-wa he has a son called Ja Rua, and a daughter, Ja Pientingsa, who gives birth to Shingra Prawja, who marries Madai Jan Prawna. These latter beget Kum-

jaun Maja and Jan Praw Shen who have a son called Washel Wa Makam.

This one takes there wives, Magaun Kapan, Kumdi Shakoi and Anang Kashy, who give him nine children completely men.(1)

Those nine sons are the first chiefs of the great Kachin tribes.

La'n Kam is the first Du-wa of the Marips.
La'n Naung is the first Du-wa, a branch of the Lathongs.
La'n La is the first Du-wa, the Laphais.
La'n Tu is the first Du-wa, a branch of the 'n Khums.
La'n Tang is the first Du-wa, a branch of the Marans.
La'n Yawng is the first Du-wa, the other branch of the 'n Khums.
La'n Kha is the first Du-wa, the 2nd branch of the Lathongs.
La'n Roi is the first Du-wa, the 2nd branch of the Marans.
La'n Khyn is the first Du-wa, the 3rd branch of the Marans.

GENEALOGY OF KAURI CHIEFS, JUNCTION WITH THEIR PEOPLE AND ARRIVAL AT KOUTHUNG

The Kauri chiefs' forefathers are La'n La Laphai La, third son of Washel Wa Makam.

Laphai La's son is Laphai Latsan, who begets La'n Tu or Midi Tu (blind) who begets Laphai Larin.

During the night in which Laphai Larin is born, the Lathongs, who are at war with the Laphais, come to kill the parents and do not see the little one who is hidden under rags. The following morning one of his aunts takes him, passes him off as a girl that he might not be killed, and in this way is able to bring him up till he himself is able to stand up for his claims.

(1) Up to this the different personages were only spirits, or half man, half spirit.

This Laphai Larin gives birth to five children who are—
La'n Kam, who died very young.
La'n Naung, ancestor of the Jathans.
La'n Tu, who stays in the palace and rears pigs and dogs with horns.
La'n La, ancestor of the Lasu Sumdas, and
La'n Tang, ancestor of the Kauri chiefs.

With them begins the dispersion.

La'n Tang, grandfather of the Kauris, is the first to leave the Ka-ang Ka (middle of the earth), and comes to reside in Jwa Ka.

La'n Tang's children then go down to Sadun Saka Ka, where they meet the Tarat ni, ordinary men, who must constitute their subjects, and who themselves come from Jakwi Jakhy Ka, and first of all from Usik Pande Ka.

Henceforth chiefs and people migrate together from Sadun Saka Ka to Tabak Ka; then to Munlai Ka, later to Cheyang Chet, Tunbung, Man Yau and Phara Ka. There they pass the Tapin (river) near the Kalung Kha, remain some time at Ngalang Ka and Jabak ka and finally come to Kuthung where there are 7 or 8 generations.

Little by little some sons of the chiefs separate from the principal community, and with a group of devoted subjects, found the surrounding villages: Matan, Maudau, Jakhai, Phumwa, Lamaiban, Kadaw, etc., etc.

Here finish the principal historical recitals of my Jai-wa. I must add that he sincerely believes in their veracity and that he succeeds in making them penetrate the mind of his people. It is a fact that all the Kachins know, at least in a shorter form, the greater part of those legends, that they believe them and make very much of them in their way of living and acting.

The Kachins have also fables, auguries, proverbs, which can help us to know their mentality; that is why I shall select some.

9. The Crow and the Heron

It is laying-time; the crow is not pleased with the number of her eggs, she goes to steal the white heron's and hatches them with her own.

The heron who has often seen the crow hovering over her nest, tells her one day :

—You have stolen my eggs !

—I haven't.

—You have : I have seen you come out of my nest !

—You lie ! well, let us call the Salangs,(1) they will decide the matter.

—I am willing, and I know they will decide in my favour.

—We shall see !

So, they convoke the Salangs and expose the case before them.

The Salangs, who know well that in such cases there is always some opium to be smoked, come in great numbers and side, some with the crow, some with the heron. They cannot come to an understanding and prolong the debate when a Salang of the heron's side says :

—It's very simple, let us look at the colour of the young ones. All agree on that point and go to see the crow's nest.

They find an amount of little birds, some quite white, some quite black.

—Has one ever seen a crow with white young ones ! The crow is the thief ! shout those of the heron's side.

Then everyone is of the same opinion and the crow is condemned with costs. (The crow, adds my Jai-wa, is

(1) Principal villagers who act as judges.

the first to become a thief, but men were not slow to imitate the crow.)

10. The two Children

In the same village there was a rich child, and a poor child, who was an orphan besides.

They both go and set a snare in the same part of the forest, the orphan on the ground, and the rich child on a tree. The following morning, the rich child arrives first, sees a roebuck caught in the orphan's snare, unties it and hangs it on the tree in his own snare. The orphan also arrives and finds his snare unstrung and traces of game, but nothing caught; he looks on one side and sees the roebuck on the tree!

—But you have taken that roebuck in my snare, says he to the rich child; come and see the marks of it!

—I can assure you I haven't.

—Say what you like; I tell you the animal is mine!

—Well, let's call the Salangs, they will settle that.

—Yes, all right!

The Salangs come in great numbers, and to get opium and meat, they all side with the rich child. The orphan cannot pay anything to anybody and is left alone.

The case is examined and the roebuck is going to be adjudged to the rich child, when an old man bent with age and hardly able to stand on his legs, comes forward. He alone sides with the orphan.

—But, my children, have you ever seen a roebuck climbing on a tree? The animal surely belongs to the orphan!

Nobody dares protest and the little rich boy is condemned.

11. The two Orphans

There were once two orphan brothers who had only one buffalo.

—Let us divide, says the elder to the younger; you pull the tail, and I lay hold of the head; each one shall get what he can take away. And thereupon, they try each their very best. But the winning side is that of the elder brother who makes the entire buffalo follow, the tail slips from the younger brother's hands, and the poor fellow gets nothing except a louse.

He sets about feeding the little insect which is already thick and fat when a hen thereabout sees it and eats it up. The orphan demands compensation; the owner of the hen is ready to give oxen, buffaloes, etc. The child refuses everything and exacts and gets the very hen.

Some days after a dog devours the hen. The orphan again asks compensation, refuses tom-toms and buffaloes, but agrees to take the dog. He takes a liking for the animal and takes the greatest care of it.

The time of preparing the fields arrives; the elder brother ploughs with the buffalo and will not lend it to his brother. What is the poor younger brother to do?

He ties the dog to the plough, and throws a little rice ahead, the dog runs after it, drags the plough after him and in this way makes a small furrow. The child again and again plays the same dodge and succeeds in ploughing his whole field.

At that moment rich merchants pass by, and seeing the work well done, ask the orphan how he has been able to plough so well.—I have taken my dog instead of a buffalo, he answers.

—But it is impossible to plough with a dog! There! if you succeed in making only one furrow, we give you all our horses!

The child at once yokes his dog to the plough, throws some rice ahead, gives the work asked for, and according to the contract, receives a lot of horses.

The elder brother becomes jealous and should like to have the dog to make his fortune in his turn.

—I say, brother, lend me the dog to plough like you.

—You have refused me your buffalo; how can you ask me for my dog?

—No, brother, let me have him for one day only!

The younger brother gives in and lends the animal. And, to get a good day's work, the elder brother first gives the dog a first rate meal and then yokes him to the plough. But the animal who has eaten its bellyful, is unwilling to stir; he excites him, beats him; all in vain; in a rage he draws his dah (big knife) and cuts off his head.

The orphan bewails his dog and and buries him with a handful of rice in his mouth. The following morning he comes back to the grave, and O surprise! he finds a long bamboo, which has sprouted up by itself; on a branch of the bamboo reposes a fine bird, who is singing: Silver! Silver! The child puts out his basket and many pieces of money fall into it; he comes daily to gather some of them, and is soon very rich.

His elder brother also should like to have some of that money.

—I say, little brother, you are now rich enough; let me also pick up some pieces!

—You have already killed my dog, and you want still to deprive me of the bird!

—I swear to you I won't harm the bird at all; do allow me to present my basket one day only.

The younger brother consents and the elder one comes near the bamboo; but the bird changes its tune and sings now: Pish! Pish!! And that very moment lets go a bellyful of . . . . . which besmudges the gentleman's face and clothes. Then the man in a rage draws his dah, cuts the bamboo and the bird flies away for good.

The younger brother, in a very sad mood, comes to pick up the bamboo and makes a hen-coop out of it. At night he shuts up a hen in it; in the morning the cage is

full of birds; he puts another hen in it which also multiplies, and so on day after day.

The elder brother also wants to increase his poultry, and at last gets the famous hen-coop for some days. He too shuts up a hen in it; the following morning he finds nothing whatsoever.

The second evening he puts two; they also disappear during the night; he tries yet with three others who fare likewise; and more angry than ever he breaks up the hen-coop with his knife. The poor younger brother all in tears comes to take up the bits and carries them home. He thinks of putting them in the fire, and behold! each bit lasts the whole day, and there is no longer any need for him to go and fetch firewood in the forest.

The elder brother asks and asks, and asks again, and at last gets three bits of the wonderful cage.

At home he quickly puts all three in the fire; but such a great flame comes out of it that the house is burnt to ashes in a few minutes; and from that time the elder brother is poor and unhappy!

12. Auguries

Of auguries, there are any amount; but they are rather unhappy omens and the work of the Nats to vex people and get sacrifices.

On the days of the great sacrifices of animals, oxen or buffaloes, the Dumsa recites a long litany of those evil signs and beseeches in the following way the spirits of heaven and the companion Nats to send them very far to the palace and to the grotto of unhappiness Shalaw Thingnu Shala Lungpu.

"The abnormal noise of the doors, grip it, great Nats! and send it to the palace and to the grotto of unhappiness. The brisk kicking of the legs by children when they are asleep, grip it, great Nats! and send it

to the palace and to the grotto of unhappiness!" And so on, and so forth.

In the house, for any extraordinary noise of the pillars, the tom-toms, the Nats, the kitchen pots, etc.; for the noise made by rats, the whining barking of dogs; the ashes which have become hard and are sticking together; the marks of a snake; the restlessness of the fowls during night; the too early crowing of the cock; pigs, dogs, oxen, buffaloes getting on the roof; snakes, dogs, buffaloes entering the house; the rice on the loft becoming heated; the beer which has turned sour; stains of blood under the portico in front, etc., etc.

In the fields and taungyas, for porcupine and rat holes; presence of snakes; smoke without visible cause; noise in the reeds; pepper, egg-plants and other vegetables which have by themselves fallen from the stalk, etc., etc.

At the fountain, for fish and crabs found dead, etc.

On a journey, for snakes, moles, rats, wild cats, roebucks, porcupines, etc., which cross the road you are following; for a tree fallen by itself and blocking the road, etc., etc. But it seems it is the snake, which more than anything else, forebodes misfortune. When a snake crosses your road, you must go back home, it is the only way; unless you succeed in killing the animal and make sure in this way that you will surmount all the obstacles you may possibly find on your road.

A snake entering a house is a sure sign that very soon a member of that household shall die.

A buffalo or an ox who, no matter how, gets into a house is looked upon as being asked by the domestic Nats and must be offered to them, even, and I have seen the case, when he belongs to another master; the owner is obliged to give over the animal and has a right to only half the price.

The other omens are not so bad and when they appear the Dumsa is called to consult the spirits and offer unto them what they ask.

As to happy anticipations, the Kachins do not seem to have many. The best omen, says my Jai-wa, is to meet none. Yet, he adds, it is a good sign when on a journey you meet a man who offers you a guide.

13. Proverbs

1. Li lakhawng 'n mai jawn.
   Boats two not good to enter.
   You can not get into two boats at the same time.

2. Ga lakhawng 'n mai tsun.
   Words two not good to say.
   You must not have two words.

3. Num lakhawng 'n mai la.
   Wives two not good to take.

4. Ga da, ja da.
   Word to say, gold to say.
   A good word is worth gold.

5. Mang lata tsu kumpha.
   Corpse hands, rotten present.
   A dead hand is a rotten present.
   (Reproach to one's own hand when it takes one thing for another.)

6. Duni du yang, kap kabu.
   Chiefs arrive if, to receive rejoice.
   When a chief presents himself, receive him with pleasure.

7. Makam num shi, tarat num mali.
   Lord wives 10, common man wives 4.

8. Tsu kumpha sha yang, malapde.
   Dead present you eat if, forget.

9. Phai lata, tsu lata.
Right hand, dead hand.

10. N lagu pha n sha, n masu pha n la, an n masŭ pha n tsun.

Without stealing nothing to eat, without lying nothing to have, or without lying nothing to say.

11. Lamyit n makaw nga n lu, myit na makaw pha n lu.

Fish hook not crooked fish not to have, mind not twisted nothing to have.

12. Wa maiklung sha yang, ? ? de.
Pig tail you eat if afterwards (late) you come.

13. Mang udi sha yang lagaung n tu.
A child eggs eats if, legs not grow.

14. Prang majoi nat, shan majoi sat.
Jungle without reason to burn, a Shan without reason to kill.

CHAPTER III

THE SUPREME BEING

Rev. Father Schmidt has kindly made me the remark that in " the Mythology and the Religion of the Kachins " (1) I have not given sufficient details about Karai Kasang. In fact I have spoken neither at length nor clearly about that great spirit, who for all the Kachins is surely the Supreme Being; I shall try to make him known in a more satisfactory way by faithfully setting forth, concerning his nature and his worship, the information given by the Jai-wa ni,(2) the dumsa-ni, the du-ni (lords) the Salang-ni (notable men) and the tarat-ni (common folk).

1. Nature of Karai Kasang

First information given by the Jai-wa ni (bards). I had an occasion to consult the three principal Jai-wa ni of the country; him of Kuthung, the grandfather spoken of before; him of Lamaiban, a cripple of some 40 years, who, being unable to cultivate his land, goes in for mythological lore, and him of Loyin, an old man of 70, 80 years, who has done all his life the work of a bard and a priest.

The information given by those three Savants is nearly the same; according to them, above the heavens and above all, the great Nats dwell :

A.—Karai Kasang, who is also called Karai Kasang Makam, Karai Wa, Karai, Ngarai Kaseng, Ngarai Wa.

B.—Phan Ningsang.

C.—Cheng Ningchang or Che Ningchang.

D.—Phan Dum Sakia, Phan Sakia or Sakia.

E.—Jau Dum Phara, or Jau Phara.

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(1) The spelling of the Kachin words follows " Hunter's System " which is used by Government for the romanising of the Indian languages; the vowels have the Italian sound; and the consonants have the English sound.

(2) The final " ni " is the plural sign.

All these different names, say the three Jaiwa, indicate but one (langai sha—one only) and the same great spirit, clad in golden raiment and seated on the magnificent arm-chair, majoi chimpong malang tingrong. He holds in his hands the vital nerves or strings of whatever exists : lamon sumri jum, lasa sumtai phum, an expression found in the old poems which the jaiwas recite, and meaning : lamon sumri jum, vital cords to take, to hold; lasa sumtai phum, vital nerves to embrace, or to hold in one's arms.

This spirit is called by various names according as he turns himself and looks to one side or to the other; and to make me better understand, the Jaiwas have used the same means. Each one has feigned to be Karai Kasang, and seated on a footstool, has turned his face to different sides, and in doing so, has, according to his position, applied to himself the various names of the Supreme Being. Therefore the Savants of the country do look upon Karai Kasang as on a unique spirit. Moreover, their affirmations seem to be confirmed by the meaning of the terms which are used to designate the Supreme Spirit.

According to the Loyin Jaiwa, Karai Kasang, Phan Ningsang and Cheng Ningchang are Kachin words; Phan Sakia is borrowed from the Burmese and Jau Phara, from the Shans.

I have been unable to find the origin of the name Karai Kasang; in order to try and find out its origin I have in vain addressed myself to those who know Pali, Chinese, Shan and Burmese. Consequently this word seems to be pure Kachin and to mean Supreme Being, because the Jaiwas always put it at the head of the names they give to the Superior Being. Besides, it is the meaning given to the word by Mr. Rae, an English official who governed the Kachins for fifteen years and who

lived in their midst at Sinlum Kaba; " Karai Kasang he wrote to me, " means Supreme Lord."

Rev. O. Hanson, of the American Baptist Union, also gives the same meaning to the word, because in his translation of Genesis he always renders the word " God " by Karai Kasang.

As to the words Phan Ningsang and Cheng Ningchang, they seem to designate simply attributes of the divinity. In Kachin, indeed, phan means " to create " or " to hold up; " and *Cheng or Che,* " to know " like the latin, scire; now, " to create, or to hold up," " sustentare," and " to know " are surely perfections which are rightly attributable to the Supreme Being and which can designate that Supreme Being in the Kachin tongue, just as in English the words Creator and Omniscient mean God. A pretty well instructed Kachin has given me the very same explanation: " Karai Kasang, he said, is called Phan Ningsang because he has created everything and Cheng Ningchang, because he knows everything."

Phan Sakia comes from the Burmese Phan to create, and Thakia, spirit. Phan Sakia would then mean " Creator Spirit " and differs not from Karai Kasang.

Lastly Jau Phara would have a Shan origin; in Shan, Jau, Zao or Sao, means " chief," master, lord; and Phara—God.

The word Phara can also have the same origin as the corresponding Burmese word boura, which is pronounced hpara and means " god, master."

Jau Phara, chief, master, lord, god, can not designate any other being except Karai Kasang, who according to the meaning of the various names given to him is surely an unique spirit who has created everything and who knows everything.

Let us again give the word to the Jaiwas; they will let us know the other attributes of the Supreme Being; and to make their work more easy let us put them some questions.

Has Karai Kasang a body like us?

—Yes, but we cannot see it.

(This answer is not astonishing; the Kachins do not seem to have the idea of a spirit, as will be seen later on when there will be question of the nature of the Nats and the minlas.)

—Can Karai Kasang become old, be ill, die?

—No: *Tingla 'ncheng ai,* become old he cannot.
Machyi 'n cheng ai, be sick he cannot.
Si'n cheng ai, die he cannot.
Maren nga de, he remains always the same.

—Has Karai Kasang wife and children?
—*'N lu de,* he has none.
—What does Karai Kasang eat?
—*Kani 'n cheng,* we know nothing about it.
—What does Karai Kasang?
—He keeps the vital nerves of everything.
—Does Karai Kasang govern everything?
—Yes, *Nga manga up de,* he governs everything.
Makhra Madu de, he is master of everything.

—Is Karai Kasang more powerful than the other Nats and does he govern them?

—Yes, and even not a single Nat can bite human beings without his leave.

—Does Karai Kasang see all, know all?

—Yes, he knows the thoughts of men and and sees whose mind is straight and whose is crooked.

—Can Karai Kasang deceive?

—No, *Masu 'n cheng,* lie he cannot.

Myit makau 'ncheng, a crooked mind he cannot have.

Ding ding man man rai a, he is worthy and right.

—Is Karai Kasang good?

—Yes, *Yi a Kanu Kawa rai a,* he is our father and our mother.

Sakha ya de, he gives us provisions for life.
Nga mu nga moi ya de, he gives us well-being.
Agarum nga de, he assists us.

—Does Karai Kasang reward the good and punish the wicked?

—Yes, *Kajani phe akyu Jaude,* to the good reward he gives.

Nkaja niphe Yupak Jaude, to the wicked punishment he gives.(1)

—Whose son is Karai Kasang?

—Samwi and Ningpang's.

—Has Karai Kasang created (2) heaven, earth and all the rest?

To the last question the bards answer that Karai Kasang has created all: *Nga menga phan da de.*

Lamu ga phan da de, heaven and earth has he created.

Phun kawa phan da de, tree and bamboo has he created.

Nat ni mung phan da de, the Nats even he has created.

—Because Karai Kasang has created all, should he not be also the father and not the son of Samwi and Ningphang?

The grand-father catches the objection and, to answer it, ceases to present Karai Kasang as a child of Samwi and Ningphang; he does not make him their

(1) The old bard, speaking of the Nats in general, will tell us later on that they do not busy themselves with rewarding or punishing in this life or in the other; now he gives us Karai Kasang as rewarder of virtue and avenger of vice; consequently it seems there exists about that Supreme Being a legend completely different from and independent of the traditions concerning the other spirits. This accounts for the contradiction here stated, and for those which will follow.

(2) To render the word "to create" I use the Kachim term phan, which in the language, best gives the idea of creating. I must add that the Kachins seem ignorant of the notion of creation and that the Jaiwas seem to give to *phan* the meaning of to elevate, to sustain, to uphold, to govern, to embellish.

creator either, but gives those three personages as co-existent (*rau tai de ni*), having begun together (*rau ru de ni*), having appeared at the same time. The other two Jaiwas, less accommodating, always make Karai Kasang son of Samwi.

—If Karai Kasang has created heaven and earth and all the rest, how can you say that that same heaven, that same earth, etc., are sons of Samwi and of Ningpang, Woishun and Janun?

Here the three Savants give the same answer; Samwi and Ningpang have given birth (*Shangai de*) to heaven, earth, etc.; but it is Karai Kasang who has created them (*phan da de*), which means that he has elevated, sustained (*bau de*) perfected, embellished them (*Shachoi de*).

As I seem not to understand properly, the grandfather gets excited and gives me the following example. "Karai Kasang to create us has done like the English, who, although we are not their own children, have adopted us, govern us, and put the thieves in jail." If this comparison does not make clear the idea of Karai Kasang as creator, it does at least show forth his power.

2. Notions given by the Dum-sani (Priests), du-ni, Salang-ni and Tarat-ni

A.—The Dumsa-ni give about the Supreme Being nearly the same information as the Jaiwa-ni, whose disciples they are. Still there are some like the one who lives at Wakau, who make Karai Kasang father of Phan Ningsang, who would be the same being as Cheng Ning-chang, and would have as son Pham Dum Sakia.

B.—The Du-ni and the Salang-ni know Karai Kasang and his attributes nearly as well as the bards and the priests, but as to his origin they vary much. Some say he is son of Samwi, others say son of Woishun; very many own they do not know his father; some confuse him with Sinlap, Jan or other great Nats born of Janun.

C.—The Tarat-ni also, men and women, have pretty complete notions about the Supreme Being. Nearly everyone will tell you that Karai Kasang dwells above heaven, that he is father and mother of everything, that he keeps in his hands the vital nerves of everything, that he is good, just, powerful, that he rewards the good and punishes the wicked, etc.—Those ideas the Kachins often have from their infancy; the parents transmit them to the children, and all can learn them from the Jaiwa-ni and the dumsa-ni.

3. Worship of Karai Kasang

Although all the Kachins know Karai Kasang and hold him as the greatest spirit, yet they do not offer him a worship, which is superior or equal to the one they offer to the Nats, and the reason of it is that the Nats do harm or can harm, and often ask victims through the soothsayers; therefore, it is necessary to appease them frequently or to get their good will by offerings and sacrifices.

Karai Kasang, on the contrary, is a good being, who bestows favours without exacting compensation; besides, he hardly ever asks presents and one does not even know what he eats. The Kachins are nevertheless far from considering him as a divinity with whom you must not reckon at all; in their trials they often have recourse to him by invocations, and, some tribes at least, do sometimes jointly offer him great sacrifices to obtain favours, and ward off and prevent a calamity.

4. Invocations

They invoke the Supreme Being under one of his different names: Karai Kasang, Phan Ningsang, etc.; some names, however, are more used in certain places or more employed by some persons.

A Kachin in pain shouts :
Karai Kasang, mada yu lau! Karai Kasang, look at me!
Karai Kasang, garum rit lau! Karai Kasang, help me.
Karai Kasang, pha yubak jau de lau! Karai Kasang, why do you punish me?
Karai Kasang, che larit lau! Karai Kasang, save me!
One accused of lying, theft, etc
Karai e! mada yu lau! O Karai, look at me!
Karai ngai n masu! O Karai, I do not lie!
Karai ngai n lagu! O Karai, I do not steal.
Karai ngai n shut'n phyit! O Karai, I am not guilty!
One who is insulted.
Karai e! ngai phe roi de mada yu lau! O Karai, remark how they insult me!
One who falls in the water
Karai e! ngai phe che khrang rit lau! O Karai, save me! Etc., etc.

5. Offerings

No blood-offerings are made to Karai Kasang, because he is supposed not to eat meat. They offer him only cooked rice, eggs, dried fish, water, beer and grog. Sometimes, however, live fowls and even buffaloes, which are let loose and which cannot be taken back without his leave, are given to him.

When the Supreme Being desires offerings, he must manifest his will, not through an ordinary soothsayer, but through the mouth of a *myithoi* (seer). It is seldom though he comes to trouble the mortals and take possession of the seer to express his wishes; nevertheless such cases sometimes occur. For instance, four or five years ago, when famine was threatening, the Pungwa myithoi asked in Karai Kasang's name presents from all the Kauris of that hilly tract. At once in the different villages, a collection of offerings is made, and in the Kuthung valley, during three days, a kenrong for Karai Kasang is erected. That kenrong is an immense altar 20 to 25

feet long on the four sides, and 30 to 40 feet high, a long ladder is used to get on to it : on the top a floor of planks is made which is surrounded by a railing so as to form a balcony, and in the middle an arm-chair is prepared for the Supreme Being. From the railing and the many bamboos, which serve as stakes, they hang any amount of small baskets to put into them the numerous presents which are destined for Karai Kasang and his friends.

When all is ready, on the morning of the fourth day, men and women from every locality arrive from all sides : most of them bring offerings; others lead a buffalo and two fat pigs, a gift of the community. These animals are for *Mushen* (Thunder), *Pilon pilai* (Jathun who lives on the great rocks, Lung-li and Lunga-la who can cause madness), *Mali Tapie* (Jathun who keeps watch over a neighbouring forest). They fear that these spirits who are as jealous as they are powerful will trouble the ceremony, therefore, to obtain their protection, they offer the buffalo to the Thunder and a pig to each of the other two. Those sacrifices take place about noon-day, away from the Kenrong, before evoking Karai Kasang, who does not like to see blood flowing.

When some are busy cutting up and cooking the victims, others put in the baskets of the kenrong eggs, rice, dried fish and cups full of water, beer and grog. Then my old bard, who is also high priest, begins his functions : In ceremony dress and helmet, he sits down on a stool near the ladder before the altar and calls the Supreme Being : O Karai Kasang! Creator of all spirits, father of all men, come sit down on this arm-chair; all the offerings of the balcony are for thee; eat and drink what thou likest; ye also, great Nats, sons and grand-children of Karai Kasang, arrive in your father's company, and accept the presents which are attached to the columns of the kenrong. And now, O Karai Kasang, give unto us rice, buffaloes, money, etc."

Hardly has the priest finished his supplications, when the myithoi gets convulsions, climbs up the ladder and goes and sits down on the balcony on Karai Kasang's seat. "My children, he says in a loud voice, Karai Kasang it is I myself, it is I who have created everything; I shall give you rice, buffaloes, welfare." Very soon the seer stops talking and becomes calm; it is a sign that Karai Kasang is gone up back to heaven. Then the presents are taken back and some people on mats mix together the eggs, the rice and the dried fish : the mixture is dealt out to all present; the meat of the victims has been cooked, beer and grog run in streams and they give themselves over to a first rate rejoicing. Night approaching, everybody goes home with the happy hope of very soon receiving Karai Kasang's blessings.

This information was given me by witnesses of the feast and especially by the grand-father, who presided at the ceremony. For him and the other two Jaiwa-ni, it is surely to the genuine Karai Kasang that offerings are made; yet I must add that here at Kuthung, I have found a priest, Dumsa Tu, some 40 years old, who maintains that never anything is offered to the Supreme Being, because he asks nothing and eats nothing. According to him, it is not the genuine Karai Kasang, who speaks through the mouth of the myithoi, but an inferior Nat, who, to get presents, lies and styles himself Karai Kasang.

6. Conclusion

Such are, anent the Supreme Being, the informations I have gathered among the Kauris. They are not proper to that sub-tribe, but seem to be furnished by all the Kachins, although one finds small variants inevitable among a people without a written language.

Rev. J. Geis, A. B. M. U., who knows the tribes round about Myitkyina, at the end of an article on religion which appeared in an appendix to "The Kachin or

Chingpaw Language" by H. F. Hertz, D. S. P. has written, page 159: "Above and beyond all Nats to whom Kachins offer sacrifices at one time or another, they recognise the existence of one great spirit called Karai Kasang. Altars in his honour are not found in villages or houses; no priest has been able to divine what offerings are to be made to it, but in time of great danger Nats and their offerings are forgotten and their cry goes out to Karai Kasang for help, succour." And Mr. Hertz adds at the bottom of the same page: Karai Kasang existed before all things and is the Lord of the Universe.

7. Supplement

After writing this article on Karai Kasang, I went to Pungwa to see the myithoi mentioned above. He is a man of some 40 to 50 years, who pretends that, when young, he was cured by Karai Kasang of a serious illness. From that time, out of gratitude he sometimes makes private offerings to Karai Kasang, in front of his house, on an altar made of bamboos, of about one metre broad, two metres long and three metres high, which he renews at each ceremony. It is the only case of private worship of the Supreme Being I have met with till this day.

The Pungwa people often make offerings in common to Karai Kasang; every year after the harvest they put down for him, near the seer's dwelling, any amount of eggs, rice and other presents which are reserved to him. They also call in his help when the slightest epidemic appears, and in such an emergency, offer to him only water in hundreds and hundreds of bamboo cups which they place one near the other on the steps of a special altar. In Pungwa the devotion to Karai Kasang is probably due to the presence of the myithoi. He is not a learned man, he has never studied mythology, nor does

he know much of it. He knows the ordinary attributes of the Supreme Being, but not his origin; he affirms that the reason why never any sacrifices of animals are made to him, is that that great spirit holds in his hand the vital nerves of everything.

Leaving aside the cases in which the Nats take possession of him and speak through his mouth, this myithoi also gives out oracles according to the signs or the letters which, some five or six years ago, he says, the spirits have taught him to trace with a pencil on paper; he had not those characters with him when I met him; he has promised he would show me some of them another day.

CHAPTER IV

THE ANCESTORS

1. Nature of the Nats and of the Ancestors infinity and multiplication of the nats

It has been already said that the Kachins honour the Nats or Spirits; and Nats, they have an infinity of them who by generation multiply yet every day. In Mythology I have, of course, made known only the principal ones and those who are most known. To that great number we must still add the shades of the dead, who for the greater part become Nats, great or small, good or bad, as the case may be.

Remark.—Some Kachins, influenced perhaps by the Shans, also honour some trees, and especially the *Lagatlipun* (ficus religiosa); to obtain prosperity, to ward off evil, they offer to it rice, plantains, fowls, etc.

2. Shade Nats

According to my Jaiwa, each man has at least two *minlas* (souls) which end not by death, but only change their skin like snakes. Other Kachins admit more than two minlas in the same individual; a good man can have as many as six; but when one happens to have seven (one of them acts the sorcerer!) the seventh soul, called hpyi, is considered as a bad Nat, who with the knowledge and often without the knowledge of his master, can cause harm to man and beast.

At death, what becomes of the different minlas one can have? There is no knowing, say most of the Kachins. The old bard pretends that of the two minlas which the same man has, one is perfect or pure (krin) and the other imperfect. At the burial a dumsa sends the latter to the country of the ancestors or elsewhere, according to the kind of death; the pure soul, on the contrary, continues

staying at home, lives on alms, becomes Nat, or takes flesh again in the body of a small child or of a domestic animal.

This theory of the grandfather is hardly known by the people; in fact, at death, they never speak of the souls of those who are no more, there is only question of a minla now called Tsu, which a dumsa sends off to the ancestors and which becomes a good or a bad Nat, according to the kind of death. The soul of one who died of violent death becomes *Lasa Nat;* that of a fool, *Jahtung,* that of a woman who died in child-bed, *Sawn,* that of an abortive child, *Mbya.* These bad spirits are exorcised by a priest as soon as possible after death and sent by him to their respective dwellings (*vide infra*).

As to the minla of him who dies a natural death, a dumsa, at the end of the burial, sends her first to the ancestors, then, if the deceased is old, he confers on the minla the dignity of a household Nat whom they venerate at home in the sanctuary of the spirits. When it is the soul of one of the common folk, she is looked upon as a small protecting spirit who can bite strangers, but never hurts any of the family. If she is forgotten, she is satisfied, in order to get food, with inducing sleep, or gnawing the clothes through a rat. They then give the spirit what she asks for through a dumsa: rice, fowl, beer, clothes and other small presents because she never requires great sacrifices.

The minlas of the great lords who die a natural death become great Nats, and offerings of fowls, pigs, buffaloes, etc., are made unto them in the palace and in the Lamshang (sacred grove).

As a rule, presents to the souls of children are made at their death and at burial time. Then they are forgotten and nothing more is sacrificed to them, unless they themselves ask for it. There exists especially the worship by the parents, and in each house they are given

an altar or at least special cups. But in the houses of the common people, they do not go up very high in that worship, so, at the death of either father or mother who are immediately honoured, the worship of the grand-parents generally stops.

The lords, on the contrary, venerate many ancestors and sometimes offer sacrifices to all the shades of their ancestors known to them.

3. Residence of the Nats

The spirits dwell in 3 principal regions.

1. Above the heavens which we see, very high and above everything resides Karai Kasang, the Supreme Being.

2. Below Karai Kasang, in the different realms which they govern, reside the great Nats Woishun, La'n Roi, Madai, Sinlap, Jan-wa, Hkring Wan, Jahka, Jan (sun), Shata (moon), Mushen (thunder) with his daughter Bunghpoi (storm) and his warriors 'n Bung (wind), Samwi (cloud) Mashawshe (lightning), Marang (rain), etc.

3. Lastly, near the earth or on the earth itself reside Shadip (shade of Janun), the Jahtuns, the Sawns, the Lasas, the Marawngs, the Hpyi, the shades of the ancestors, etc.

4. Form of the Nats

The Nats are not spirits, properly speaking; they have a body like men, and eat, drink, work, go hunting, etc. They are beautiful or ugly according to their class. The Kachins imagine that the inhabitants of heaven have an attractive face and golden raiment; but to the inferior Nats they give the most hideous appearance; the Lasas are covered with blood; the greater number of the Jahtuns are quite black, etc. Some great spirits to cover distances, ride on 'n Bung (wind) or Samwi (cloud), the

Jahtuns ride on deer, boas, crocodiles; others like Pilon Pilai have wings. But whatever be the form of the Nats, they all are invisible to man from the time of the following adventure :

—Do you see us? said one day the Nats to men.

—Of course.

—And with what?

—With our eyes.

Then the Nats modified the sight of the human beings in such a way that the latter are no longer able to see them.

Then they question the dogs.

—And you, do you see us?

—Certainly.

—And with what?

—With our back-side.

And the Nats begin to distort the back-side of the dogs; these animals, clever as they are, submit themselves without saying a word, but enjoy their trick thoroughly, because it is really with their eyes they see the Nats; they can, up to this day, make them out and by their whining and their barking make their presence known to man. . . Other bards pretend that the Nats veiled the eyes of man with paper and those of dogs with wax.

5. Good and Bad Nats

The Nats are not enemies among themselves; they fraternise much and invite one another to magnificent feasts. Yet the Kachins divide them into good and bad; good are those who can render service, bad those who cause harm. The best are Madai, Sinlap, Jan-wa, Khringwang, Woishun, Shadip, the shades of the ancestors, etc. Among the spirits who are the most mischievous are found : Mushen, Bungphoi, the Sawns, the Lasa, the Jahtuns, the Phyi. But the good or the evil done by the spirits is of a kind which is entirely material.

6. Domestic Nats

Although the Kachins venerate or fear all the Nats in general, they have nevertheless a particular devotion to some of them.

Every family has its privileged ones, its household gods, which it honours and feeds in a special sanctuary in a corner of the house. This sanctuary is not the residence of the domestic Nats, but only the restaurant where they come to feast when they are invited.

The protecting spirits are more or less numerous and vary according to the houses. In general the lords have a special worship for Madai, Sinlap, Jan Wa, the sun, the moon, Jakha, the shades of the ancestors, etc. The common people have especially as household gods the souls of their ancestors and sometimes Hkring Wang, Jan Wa and some other great Nat, because, although the common folk do not have the right of honouring the person of some great Nats, like Jan Wa, etc., they are nevertheless entitled to worship of their portrait.

Finally, each family, of high or of low standing, outside of the house, under the front-shed, honours some evil Nat, very often a Jahtun, with the hope of propitiating him and makes of him a sort of watchdog to drive away the Sawns, the Phyis and other inferior spirits.

As to giving laws for the welfare of man, the Nats never dreamt of it. It is from their own parents that the Kachins pretend to hold the natural law. The Nats do not busy themselves about their either rewarding the good or punishing the wicked in this life or in the next. That is not their business. You cannot say that by their example they induce man much to virtue or to vice. Among them, at least among the Superior spirits, you do not, indeed, find many great thieves or lewd beings, and yet fewer saints. They are rather powerful high-

livers who are, above everything, bent on satisfying their appetite.

When they bite, it is to ask to eat; if they protect or render service, it is because they have been well fed. And for them a stolen buffalo is as good as another! It is by this very characteristic egotism that the Nats influence especially the Kachins. These men, in fact, like their divinities, eagerly look out in everything for their own good, and make their personal interest their principal virtue, even in religious matters.

CHAPTER V

WORSHIP OF THE NATS AND OF THE ANCESTORS

1. Interested Observance of Worship

Generally speaking, the Kachins believe and have confidence in their Nats. Have all the Kachins a faith in their Nats such as would make them martyrs? I do not think so. Nevertheless all are ordinarily faithful observers of the exterior worship which consists chiefly in offerings and sacrifices. To appease or to make the spirits favourable to them, they mind neither fatigue nor expense. As soon as the dumsa declares it is a good spirit they sacrifice fowls, swine, buffaloes, oxen, etc., as long as they have any or can get any even by theft. Nevertheless it is not the love they have for their divinities which inspires them to render such homage, but really the fear of their wrath or the need of their help they believe they stand in need of. Do they fall ill, do their fields threaten failure, their illness and the ruin of the rice are put down to the ill-will of a spirit whom they must appease immediately. Do they plan any undertaking, good or bad, the assistance of the Nats is judged to be necessary and must be secured by sacrifices. But to offer worship to the divinity with the only intent of honouring her, heedless of one's own interest, is a thing entirely unknown to the Kachins!

2. Principal officials of Worship

These are the Dumsa, the Jaiwa, the Myithoi, the Kumphan, the Khingjawng, the Phunlum and the Ningwant.

DUMSA

The Dumsa is a kind of priest. They have recourse to his ministry each time they have to deal with the Nats. He indicates their will (which he knows

through one of the means explained below), invokes them in the name of the one who employs him, asks them to accept the offerings or the sacrifices, and to grant the favours asked for. It is also the dumsa who must send the minlas of the deceased to the ancestors or elsewhere. As a rule he wears no special dress for his ceremonies; yet when he addresses the great Nats, it is better to don a long robe, if he has any; and when he has dealings with the companion Nats, he must tie his turban as women do, and have a fan in his hand. His language is poetical, ancient, and often not understood by the people; it varies according to the Nat and the case in hand. The dumsa must, therefore, learn an amount of special formulas. His priestship is not hereditary; becomes priest he who wants, or he who can, because the apprenticeship supposes some intelligence; if the dumsa has means and a liking, he also learns the formulas of a Jaiwa and is then looked upon as a great savant. The dumsa cannot do priest's work for himself, the Nats will not allow it; in his own case he asks the ministration of another dumsa.

JAIWA

As it has been said before, the Jaiwa is the preserver and the narrator of legends and traditions. He is also a high-priest, whose presence and ministrations are required on great occasions, as in the sacrifices to Madai and other famous Nats, the Manaus and promises of manau, the namlu (trial by boiling water), the marriages of princes, etc., etc.

His language is composed of poetical couplets in which nearly every word is doubled by a synonym; he uses ancient formulas often unintelligible nowadays.

His ceremonial dress consists of a long robe, chiefly blue and a helmet adorned with wild boar tusks and long feathers of birds. The Jaiwa is also, as

a rule, dumsa, but not necessarily, because their functions are different. He who aspires to become Jaiwa makes himself the disciple of a high-priest who, for a remuneration, teaches him little by little the legends, the formulas and the ceremonies. The great Jaiwas are pretty rare; often there is only one in each country whilst you find at least one or two dumsas in each village.

Priests and high-priests are paid for their functions. The dumsa receives, according to the cases, from one to ten rupees and even more, or some dress, spear or knife; as a rule he is also entitled to get the shoulder of the animal which is sacrificed. The Jaiwa is more expensive; in fact, the high-priest of whom I have already spoken, received for the last manau at which he presided, a carpet, 3 spears, 1 knife and 1 buffalo.

MYITHOI

Myithoi, from myi " eyes " and thoi " illumined " could perhaps be rendered by " prophet " or " seer." He is a " medium " by whom the spirits speak and make known their will or the future. He has no apprenticeship to make, nor formulas to entrust to his memory; he is not chosen by men, but by the Nats, who form him and instruct him themselves. A child, boy or girl, who is often ill and talks wildly, is supposed to receive the visit of the spirits, and, according to the Kachins, has a chance of becoming one day a myithoi. Nowadays at least the myithois are not very numerous; here there are only two for a group of some ten villages. They have no particular costume or language; they are well paid, and receive, according to the circumstances, tom-toms, clothes, buffaloes, money, etc. They are called in cases of serious sickness, when the dumsa has not obtained a cure, or when there is question of an important expedition, as a war, etc. He then arrives, enters the house of the one who wants to consult him, and sits

down on a small stool covered with leaves of a wild plantain tree. He takes a root of ginger and cuts it into small slices, which he spreads all about to ward off the Jahtuns and other small Nats. He then looks furiously at the assistants, takes off his turban, unties his hair, makes savage gestures with his hands, shouts and groans violently and enters into convulsions which shake his entire being; with his knife he splits his tongue, blows blood on the blade with which he afterwards strikes his arms and legs. One would say a possessed person; in fact, the Kachins say, a Nat has just now taken in him the place of the minla (soul) and is going to speak through his mouth :

" I am such a spirit, or such an ancestor," exclaims the myithoi.

" Grandfather," answers one of the principal assistants, " what could we offer to please you? or, what is to be sacrificed to obtain the cure of that sick person? or, shall this expedition be a success? etc." " My children," answers the Nat, " offer to me this or that; or give to such a spirit a buffalo or a pig and the sick person shall be cured, or the expedition shall be successful," etc., etc.

When the consultation is over, they give the myithoi water in a plaintain leaf; he besprinkles himself with it, throws some of it right and left, takes a sip of it and little by little calms down and becomes himself again; he has no trace at all of any wound, he does not even remember the oracle he gave out, and to know it he questions the assistants. To say that all this is a comedy pure and simple, is not possible in every case. Those who have written about the Kachins, like Mr. Anderson and Mr. Hertz, also report similar facts which they have seen with their own eyes. The Kachins attribute likewise to their myithois the faculty of walking, without hurting themselves, on blades of knives and sitting down on spears' heads. My Jaiwa tells me that

it is a thing which is not seen nowadays. Perhaps even it has never existed and is only one of the marvels which legend attribute to the first myithoi, who came out of Lungli Lung; that famous personage, among other wonders, could with his finger make a hole in a rock from which a fountain then sprung up; and when he blew on an egg, there was at once born of it a cock who immediately flew about and crowed.

KUNPHAN

The Kunphan is an ordinary sorcerer, who, to vaticinate, uses nothing at all; he seems to be instructed by Karai Kasang himself. He makes known what there is in a closed box, how many buffaloes you have, which are the lucky days, to what Nat you must make an offering and what you must give to be cured of diseases, etc., etc. He is consulted for ordinary cases; he has a right only to a small salary and generally is satisfied with a meal and a good bumper of phye or grog.

KHINGJAUNG

The Khingjaung is a kind of a butcher : in the sacrifices he cuts up the victim, chooses the meat for the spirits, wraps it in special leaves and arranges it on the altar according to the recognised rites.

He also prepares the cups for the Nats and the different bamboo strings he needs. He too makes the shares which belong to the family which offers the sacrifice, to the lords of the village and to the different officials on duty. He lastly prepares the little presents of meat which are sent or distributed to the friends. But his most important work consists in selecting the meat which is peculiar to the Nats; he must know the taste of those gentlemen and offer to everyone the morsels

which he likes. The courses, consequently, vary according to the Nats and also according to the animals which are sacrificed : as a rule, they are composed of a little of all the victim's principal parts. If the Khingjaung forgets something or only upsets the order of the menu, the Nats do not accept the offering, and ask for a new one. They are less exacting for the priest who can make a mistake in his formulas or stutter them out without injuring the validity of the sacrifice. That is why a butcher, who knows his work well, thinks he is a great man and that he is equal to a dumsa. He is at least the indispensable assistant of the priest, but of an inferior order. He gets for his work only about half of the pay given to a dumsa, and generally has a right to the neck of the victim. You find some great Khingjaung in nearly every village; the small ones and the apprentices are pretty numerous. They often have an occasion for exercising their functions, because, as a rule, 2 or 3 butchers are made use of in a sacrifice of a pretty big animal.

PHUNLUM

The Phunlum is another assistant of the dumsa, but a less important assistant than the Khingjaung. He works as cook or chief cook, because he generally has under him some scullion boys. In the sacrifices, the phunlum kills the victim, washes the vessels, cooks the meat, pours out a drink for the assistants, etc. His work is not difficult and does not require much learning; that is why nearly every Kachin is capable of filling that office in the absence of an appointed phunlum. The pay of a cook is nearly half that of a khingjaung's and he gets, as a rule, the lower jaw of the immolated animal.

NINGWANT

He is a sorcerer who uses one of the means indicated below to consult the Nats or foretell the future. There

are some in each village. The Ningwant is not a priest; he, like the Kumphan, has only a small remuneration, and is called only for small cases. Such are the principal officials of the Nats. All are men, except the Myithoi who may be a woman. They form no separate class; in ordinary times they are not different from the common folk, and like them, are busy with their family concerns and work to earn a living. Among the Kachins you find no traces of religious orders of men or women; all lead the same common life and the different ministers come out of it only to acquit themselves of their functions. They seem to perform them with sincerity and good faith; at all events, the people seem to have great confidence in them.

3. Principal means of knowing the Nat's Will or the Future

The Kunphan needs nothing to guess, and the myithoi, on grand occasions, renders the oracles after the manner spoken of before.

But the dumsa and the nigwant make use of pase, Jaba lap, Shaman, Lungli lung, eggs, pig's milk or head, bones of the legs and wings of fowls.

The myithoi likewise makes use of eggs, ginger, or leaves of the wild plantain tree, except when he is in a state of one who is possessed or that of a prophet.

When the dumsa and the ningwant predict, they first address themselves to the object they employ, as, "you, Jaba lap, ask Karai Kasang, and indicate to me what I desire." Then they summon the spirit whose will they want to know, or whom they suspect to be connected with the matter in hand, or if they suspect none, they enumerate them all, beginning with the companions, the inhabitants of heaven, etc.

"Nat such a one, they say, show what you want"; or "if it is you, who bite this sick man, show what you have a liking for." Then the spirit in question comes and sits down near the dumsa or ningwant, and expresses his will by certain signs of the pase, jab lap, etc.

PASE

The Pase consists of small sticks, some four inches long, of bamboo, stubble or of a thunder-struck tree, to which are added some porcupine quills so as to make 13 pairs. The sorcerer first ties them two by two, passes them over his hand, makes small packets of them, changes and again changes them, finally observes them attentively, and from those which are together knows what spirit he is to question for what he desires, etc.

JABA LAP

It is a long leaf of a shrub (Jaba) whose veins do not intersect; the sorcerer separates them into threads, ties them at random, unties them and observes those which are attached together and foretells accordingly.

SHAMAN

The Shaman is a small and young bamboo, which is held over a fire till the heat bursts it. The sorcerer then considers the fibres and according to their form speaks, or, begins again the operation whilst he calls upon another Nat.

LUNGLI LUNG

Lungli lung is supposed to be a piece of the famous prophet-rock of that name, but it is simply a small river-pebble, a little smaller than your fist, and hanging at the end of a string; the sorcerer renders oracles according to its oscillations.

EGGS

The dumsa takes a fowl's egg, blows on it, puts it straight on the palm of his hand, and conjectures according to the marks and the way it keeps straight.

PIG'S MILK AND HEAD, BONES OF THE LEGS AND WINGS OF A FOWL

In the sacrifices it is the custom to examine the milk (*sinla*) of pigs, and the head (*baung*) and the bones of the wings (*singkong*) and legs (*lasen*) of fowls to know whether the sacrifices have been agreeable to the Nat, and also to know the wishes of the other spirits, and the future, for instance, to guess whether your rice crop will be plentiful. These six different ways of rendering oracles are not all equally employed; the Kauris make use especially of the Jaba lap and the Shaman.

MEANS USED BY THE MYITHOI

The myithois, leaving aside their state of being possessed or their acting as seers, also act as sorcerers, in general. In order to foretell they do not use the objects mentioned above, except the egg, but, on account of their intercourse with the Nats, they prophesy in ordinary times with a root of ginger (*Shanam*) or a leaf of the wild plantain tree (*langa laphan*), which are used by the spirits themselves when they have recourse to divination. The myithoi takes a root of ginger (*shanam*), cuts slices of it which he drops on the ground, and predicts according to the marks made on the surface of the part which he keeps in his hand. The myithoi rolls up in a horn-shaped fashion, a plaintain leaf (*laphau*), blows into it, opens it and speaks according to the signs he remarks on the side which was inside.

MISS MOON COMES TO DANCE AND TO MAKE THE FUTURE KNOWN TO HER SISTERS

Finally another means of knowing the future is to consult Miss Moon. Kachin girls now and again go in for that rejoicing. On the evenings of the full moon, when the damsel shines in all her splendour, they take a *togu* (1), put inside a little bell and some shells, wind it well in a new petticoat, encircle it with a fine belt and other ornaments. Then two of them catch each one end, and shake it up and down, down and up whilst they call their sister Miss Moon. The damsel comes down, enters into the *togu* (this is at least what the Kachins believe) and begins to dance quite alone to the great joy of the assistants.

Then begins a lot of question. " Shall I soon be married? "—If Miss Moon dances briskly, it is a sign that the wedding day is not far off.—" Where shall I get married? " The damsel goes in the direction of the village where one is soon to live.

—That grand-father or that grand-mother, have they still a long time to live?—If the damsel goes on dancing, it is understood that death is still far away; if she stops shaking herself, it is a sign that the end is near. And so on, till they are satisfied and beseech Miss Moon to go up again to heaven.

To see in this nothing but a farce, is very difficult. Is it not rather the equivalent of the turning tables of Europe?

DREAMS

The Kachins believe in dreams and think they are the work of the Nats. Nevertheless they do not act

(1) A thick bamboo, a cubit long, in which they put their needles, thread, etc.

according to their dreams, but take only occasion of them to have the dumsa called in and to consult the spirits.

4. Principal means of Honouring the Nats

The Nats are honoured by prayers, offerings, sacrifices, either private or public, manaus, vows, days of rest, etc.

PRAYERS

It is the dumsa who, as a rule, prays for all, for chiefs as well as for the people. Undoubtedly, in a calamity, individuals make invocations and even join good words to the small offerings they make to the household gods to prove to them they are not forgotten (I call household gods those which every family honours in particular in the house). But the proper formulas of prayers are the dumsa's business. They generally accompany the offerings and sacrifices and consist in continual repetitions beseeching the Nats to accept the sacrifices they offer them, and to grant the favours asked for. The priest gives them out, holding in his hand a bamboo full of liquor, and seated on a small stool, or sometimes standing before a special altar on which the offerings are deposited; but he is generally alone to the sound of his own voice; the assistants are busy with quite different things, the children play and the grown-up drink beer, smoke opium, and talk business as much as their condition allows.

OFFERINGS

They consist in water, tea, beer, grog, rice, fish, eggs, clothes, tom-toms, knives, spears, briefly whatever is thought serviceable to the Nats.

SACRIFICES

Are immolated especially fowls, pigs, oxen, buffaloes, dogs, goats, etc., but never human beings. The sacrifices are private or public according as it is a family which makes them at home, or the whole village in the sacred grove.

MANAU

It is a great feast, copied from the Manau of Ningkong Wa and Prawja, which only the chiefs give from time to time in honour of Madai and of the principal Nats to obtain from them glory, prosperity, children, etc. The *Manau,* as will be said later, lasts eight days: during the first four days especially sacrifices are offered; the remaining four days are spent in rejoicings and dances.

DAYS OF REST

No work on the days on which they get the visit of the Nats, to be able to keep them company. Those days of rest vary with the villages. Here, in Kuthung, there are four before sowing the taungyas, four when the rice has been all transplanted in the fields, and one after each public sacrifice in the lamshang. Fasts, scourgings and other bodily austerities in honour of the Nats are entirely unknown to the Kachins. Yet I must say that on days of some sacrifices and of rest, the dumsa, the jaiwa and the khingjaung must abstain from washing their face and hands in order not to lose the riches which the Nats deposit there. For a Kachin such a thing is not painful, but were he ordered to make some ablution, that indeed were painful to him.

5. Places of Worship—A Sacrifice in the Lamshana

Kachins know neither temples, nor pagodas; all their ceremonies are performed in the open air, except for the companion Nats and the other household spirits. Even for the latter they immolate the victims behind the house; but it is inside they invoke them and offer them their share. The other great private sacrifices take place before the house, generally speaking. As to offerings, fowls and even small pigs, they give them a little everywhere to the spirits on the side of the footpaths, in the fields, in the forests, etc.

The great public sacrifices take place in one of the two lamshangs (sacred grove) of each village. When the dumsa has designated the victims which the Nats want, all the men club together to buy them, then on the appointed day, they gather about 10 o'clock in the morning in the sacred grove, in the shade of big trees. Whilst some clean the place, others plant stakes on the two sides of the road and suspend on them small guns and spears and wooden swords; this is to frighten the small Nats, who might come to disturb the ceremonies, and to drive them far away. They then put up the crosses of the sacrifices and prepare the altars, one for each of the spirits they want to invoke. They then bring the victims about 1 or 2 o'clock and Dumsa and Khingjaung and Phunlum begin their functions. The young men help drawing water and cooking the rice; but the old people take to opium and quietly wait till the day is done and a good supper is served. If they cannot eat all the meat of the victims, they share what remains and take it home for the women who, as a rule, assist at no sacrifice whatever: of late, on the 8th September 1907, the Kuthung people, in order to obtain a good harvest, immolated in that way 1 buffalo, 2 pigs and 20 fowls. They offered them to Thunder, Bungphoi, Sinlap,

Mungsu, two ancestors of the people, four ancestors of the duwa, several Jahtuns, Phyis and to the Maraung.

6. Objects used in Worship

In the sacrifices they use crosses to which large victims are attached for immolation, altars on which the offerings are put, cups into which drink is poured for the Nats.

CROSSES

They are of two kinds, according as people pierce with a spear the sides of the animal, or as they open with a stroke of a cutlass the neck artery of the victim.

The crosses of the first kind are made of two thick pieces of wood, 3 to 4 metres long, which are stuck slanting in the ground so as to form a Saint Andrew's cross, and solidly bound together below and above with a horizontal bar.

The second kind are also made of pieces, 3 to 4 metres long, which are fixed upright in the ground, some 10 feet apart and joined towards the middle by 2 horizontal bars between which the victim's neck is tightened. In front and in the middle, at a distance of half a foot or one foot a stake, is planted in the ground 4 or 5 metres long, to which the head of the animals is tied.

ALTARS

It is impossible to describe all the altars; they differ according to the Nats who are honoured, the size of the victims and also probably according to the tribes. The altar of the Jahtuns and the two Nungsus is a branch of a tree, 1½ metre long, whose upper end is forked and supports a plantain leaf which serves for table and napkin. Like all altars, it is fixed vertically in the ground. The Kachins call it *Khanri*. The Swans have

an altar of the same shape, but the plantain leaf is replaced by a small bamboo mat with large meshes.

For the Maraungs it is a handful of thatch stuck in the ground. But if they invoke them for a woman with child, they erect a khanri, made of a bar of which the top is split into four. They draw away each part and put between them a small bamboo mat.

For the ancestors of the chiefs, they make an altar called *thauns* formed of four pillars nearly 1½ metre long, distant from each 1½ foot to 2 feet; the table with its back ledge are of split bamboos only.

The Sun and the Moon also have a thaun like this; they add to it only a long bamboo at the back, on which their miniature is suspended. The altar of Thunder is only a bamboo 1½ metre long, with a handful of thatch and other ornaments on the top of it.

For his brother, La'n tang Jan, it is a thaun like that of the ancestors, but it is 4 to 5 metres high; they get on it with a ladder.

For his daughter Bungphoi they make a thaun circular in shape and adorned with much thatch.

Sinlap has a stout bar 3 or 4 metres long, the end of which is split into four and which supports a bamboo table adorned with thatch.

For La'n Roi Madai, the altar resembles a big square cage, 9 to 10 feet on each side, with 2 storeys and suspended on the roof in the very palace of the Princes. Jahtum Bum, master of the mountains, has also something like a cage of 3 to 4 feet on every side on four pillars.

For Shadip and Woishun it is a hole in the ground encircled by a border of stones.

To the *Phyis* they sacrifice on the ground on leaves. To the household Nats who are especially the companion-spirits and the ancestors, they offer on the floor of the house, before the cup in which they pour them a drink.

CUPS

These are pieces of bamboo, ½ or 1 metre long, in which they give to drink to the spirits. The cup is one of the most important and the most sacred objects. Finally to adorn the crosses, the cups and some altars, they use thatching grass and leaves of the wild plantain tree, brought forth, as we have seen, by the famous Lungli Lung. They likewise put on plaintain leaves the meat and the greater number of presents they offer. As a rule the objects which have served in one sacrifice are not used for the following ceremonies. They allow them to fall to pieces little by little on the spot. There is only an exception for the household Nats, whose cups are carefully preserved and fixed on the walls of the house. They are renewed only when they are burst or in too bad a condition; to reject them is to renounce the spirits they represent; and to destroy on purpose crosses or altars, is offering an insult to the Nats who will surely take their revenge for it. But to have images or statues of the gods, to keep relics of the ancestors, at least in these parts, is no custom of the Kachins.

7. Manner of making Offerings and Sacrifices

In general the dumsa puts the offerings on the altar, stands or sits in front, and, with one or several cups in his hands, begins his formulas. When he has finished, he pours out a small drink for the Nat in the shape of a libation, and he or his assistants take care of the rest. The spirits are satisfied with inhaling the essence of the gifts. Yet when an offering is made to the minla of a person who died of late, they make disappear under the wooden floor of the house both drink and food which has been once inhaled sufficiently; they are supposed to be sullied by the contact of the dead, or good

only for dogs, fowls or pigs. As to clothes, knives, tom-toms which have been offered, they are employed as before. The way of making the sacrifices varies according as a fowl, a pig, an ox, a buffalo, a dog or a goat is killed.

FOWL

They first suspend it alive at the altar in a small bamboo net. The dumsa recites a first prayer: "This is for you, Nat such a one, put this fowl in your hen coop, etc." They then throttle the bird by pressing its neck so as to cut off all respiration. They pluck its feathers and cook it half or entirely in boiling water; then they deposit it again on the altar on a plantain leaf, and the dumsa resumes his invocation: "Eat now, and give us medicines, take away the sickness, bite us no longer, etc." When the prayer is ended, they take the fowl, cut it into small bits and boil it with vegetables, and the assistants make a feast of it.

PIG

"This is for you, Nat such a one," says the dumsa, "shut it up in your stable." Then the *phunlum* pierces with a piece of bamboo cut to a point, the heart of the animal. As soon as it is dead, they pass a stick through the two ends and singe its bristles over a fire. Then the Khingjaung cuts it into bits and chooses the meat of the spirits; it is as a rule a little of every part; they put it on the altar and the dumsa resumes his rôle. Of the pig, the two hams and a shoulder belong to the owner who offers the sacrifice; the dumsa has a right to the other shoulder, and the remainder is for the assistants.

OX OR BUFFALO

"Put it in your stable," etc., says the dumsa; then they put ropes on the neck and horns of the animal and

drag it, according to what the sorcerer prescribes, to one of the two crosses spoken of before. If it is to the cross of the St. Andrew's shape, they pass the ropes above the upper horizontal bar and pull till the fore legs of the victim do not touch ground. Then the phunlum pierces its sides with repeated strokes of a spear, and the animal soon succumbs, half strangled. If the ox or buffalo is ought to have the neck vein opened, they lead it to the other cross. They pass its head between the two horizontal bars and fix it to the stake in front. They then throw the animal on its back, and with ropes strongly stretch its legs so that it exposes its neck properly; the butcher plunges his cutlass and the blood spurts in the air, quite within reach of the Nats. When the victim is dead, the Khingjaung cuts it into four, without taking the trouble of removing the skin. The master takes one thigh and one shoulder only; the dumsa, the other shoulder; and the village *duwa,* the other thigh; the assistants devour or share the remainder. The meat offered to the spirits belongs to the Dumsa, Khingjaung and Phunlum, who divide it among themselves into nearly equal parts.

DOG

Dogs are offered especially to the Sawns and Jahtuns. They pass a rope round their neck and suspend them on a crooked bar which is firmly fixed in the ground. When the animal is strangled, they remove the hair, cook and eat the victim, or bury it in the ground, or go and bind it to a tree in the forest, as the case may be.

GOAT

They generally lead her to an X shaped cross and cut her sides open. But when they offer her to the Jahtuns of madness, Lep Mu Lep Mai, and his sister

Pilon Pilai, they fix hooks into her skin and drag her to the forest where they abandon her.

8. Time of Offerings and Sacrifices

We may say that Kachins make offerings and sacrifices at any time and in any place, on the occasion of sickness, birth, marriage, death, a new house, war, pillage, hunting, fishing, when they cut and burn the taungyas, sow paddy, harvest it, etc., etc. And yet more frequently do they offer presents to the household Nats, were it but to show them they are not forgotten. But I do not insist here on this point because I shall have to speak of it at length when describing their ways and customs.

PART III

KACHIN CULTURE

CHAPTER I

LIFE AND DEATH OF MAN

1. Nature of Man

For a Kachin, man is a compound of a body and one or several minlas (souls). Those who admit several souls in the same individual, look upon one of them as the principal, and it is only of that principal soul there is question in the various events of life. The body and the minla do not constitute one unique being; they are rather two companions united together and having each one his own personality. The minla is the most important conjunct, she is immortal and invisible like the Nats. The body is only a secondary individual used by the soul as a dress or a provisional resting place which she definitely abandons at death, but which she often leaves during life, willingly, to go and roam about, or by constraint, being dragged away by the bad spirits.

2. Origin of the Minlas

According to some bards, the minlas are created by Karai Kasang at the very birth of children. The old Jaiwa thinks they owe their origin to nobody, they have made their apparition with the first human beings whom they have had as companions, and, at their death, have only changed their skin to become again men, Nats or domestic animals. They so continue, passing from one state to another, unless they fall into hell where they are annihilated in boiling water.

3. Life of Man

The popular opinion is that life and the union of soul and body take place in the mother's womb. They believe, in fact, that the minla of an abortive child still-

born becomes *mbya nat*. Yet, the old bard and other savants pretend that it is only at his birth that man begins to live. At that moment, a minla joins itself to the new born child. Sampwi Nang Majan, with a little (nsa) (Sumri) of the tiny child and gives it provisions (sakha) according to the strength of the Sumri.

Consequently no human existence is possible without minla, nsa, sumri and sakha.

They imagine the sumri is a long, thin and invisible string with which Karai Kasang holds man up and keeps him alive.

4. Sickness and Cure

The Kachins are ignorant of the natural causes of sicknesses; they put them all, or nearly all, down to the evil Nats who, to get a meal from man, obtain leave from Karai Kasang to bite the sumri of man, or to take his minla far away with them. The person affected at once falls sick and recovers only after making to the spirits the offerings or the sacrifices which they exact.

5. Death

It is the lie Lord Kaban Sutna tells the Sun Father (*see Mythology*) which is the remote cause of death. The immediate cause is exhaustion or the rupture of the sumri which occur naturally, or are caused by the too prolonged absence of the minla; the stopping of breathing shows the end (death) of the vital nerve. The Nats, generally speaking, are consequently not the cause of death; Karai Kasang indeed allows them to bite and weaken the sumri, but not to break it. Some evil spirits, like the Jahtuns, Sauns, Lasas, etc., have nevertheless the reputation of being able to take life away. My old bard says they do not anticipate the last hour, they only see when the sumri will be exhausted, and then come in great numbers to get a feast and try to take the minla with them.

CHAPTER II

THE KACHIN COUNTRY

Kingdom of the Shades

The minla of the deceased remains in the house where death occurred or in its neighbourhood till a dumsa sends her to the other world. The priest sends the souls to different countries according to the sort of death which took place and also according to the dead being of a lordly family or of the common folk. This is why there are several kingdoms of the shades.

1. Num Num Wam Ka, kingdom of the shades of common people.

2. Taung Singkaung Ka, kingdom of the shades of princely race.

3. Lasa Ka, kingdom of the shades of those whose death was due to violence.

4. Ndang Ka, kingdom of the shades of women dead in child-bed and of still-born aboritive children.

5. Mana Ka, kingdom of the fools.

1. Nun Nun Wam Wam Ka

This kingdom is the very place of this earth of ours (Udik Pande Ka, *see Mythology*), which the common folk first inhabited. It is placed in the north towards the centre of the world, near the Majoi Chingra Bum mountain, where the Irrawady is supposed to have its source. Before reaching it you meet the Mung Ngarai (hell), an immense cauldron of boiling water, and a large river with two bridges, one of bamboo, and the other made of snakes. In that kingdom reside the shades of the forefathers of the people, and a dumsa sends thither the souls of those who die a natural death.

The ceremony does not take place at the moment of the decease, but only several days or several months later when people are able to give a feast which closes the funeral. In the meanwhile they feed at home the spirit of the deceased. When the moment of the great journey has come, a dumsa orders the soul to go away, and shows her the road she must make on foot. (It is the same road the Kachins have followed to arrive here.) He recommends her to turn around the cauldron, to cross the river on the bamboo bridge, and to wash herself properly before going further, because she is going now to re-enter into the forefathers' country and find back her ancestors.

The abode of the shades is not at the same distance for all the common folk. Here some Kauris, following the example of the Lords, send the souls of the dead only to the tomb of the last ancestors, and I am told that elsewhere this is almost the general rule with several Kachin tribes. This kingdom of the shades is often called by the more common names of Tsu Ka, (tsu, soul of the deceased; ka, country) or katsan ka (hatsan, far away; ka, country).

2. Taung Singkaung Ka

For the Lords, the kingdom of shades is not in the country of first origin, but only at the tomb or near the tomb of the last ancestors. A priest sends the souls of the dead to join those of the parents or grand-parents which they suppose to reside in the very burial place round the villages we now see. They enjoy nevertheless the privilege, especially if they become great Nats, of going for a stroll elsewhere and visiting their famous ancestor Kingkrong Wa; but their ordinary residence is their tomb, and there it is they are more frequently seen in dreams.

3 AND 4. LASA KA AND NDANG KA

Far away, towards the north, is the Saibru Chyet (neck of Saibru), separating two mountains whose summits are lost in the sky. The higher one, called Kamauaung, forms the Lasa Ka, governed by Sathi Du wa Saua Du Chaupha, ancestor of the Lasas. The other, Vlung Shabyi Shaung, is the Ndang Ka, kingdom of Pren Tua and Yun Majan, first Sauns. It is to the Lasa Ka that a dumsa forcibly drives the minlas of men or of women of princely race or of the common folk, who die a violent death. He despatches to the Ndang Ka the souls of women dead in child-birth and those of still-born, abortive children. Up to Saibru Chyet, those minlas follow the Sanu road by ladders, then they separate and arrive at their respective ancestors' dwellings, where they become slaves of the principal Lasas or Sauns. Nevertheless, those families who wish it, may buy them back, by exchanging them against pigs or oxen. They then sacrifice those animals to the Lasas or Sauns, who let go their slaves and the dumsa despatches them to the ancestors who died a natural death.

5. MANA KA

The Mana Ka, or country of the mad people, is the great mountain Kalang Senkong Bum with its deep caverns, the residence of the Jahtun of madness La'n Kam Lep Mu Lep Mai. It is to that place they chase the souls of mad people; no one can buy them off, because the grandfather of folly is the least accommodating of the Nats.

PARADISE AND HELL

The happiness after death a Kachin longs for is to go and join the ancestors; the misfortune he dreads is to

become Saun, Lasa or Jahtun; but the happy or the unhappy lot after death is not the reward of virtue or the punishment of vice; it simply depends on the kind of death which has taken place. The best of men, if he dies by an accident, goes to the kingdom of the Lasas; the greatest brigand, if he dies a natural death, takes the road which leads to the ancestors. Yet, the souls of the deceased, must get from a dumsa "a permit to start" on the road to their respective dwellings, and the dumsa then points out to them the way they have to go. As to the minlas which are raised to the dignity of domestic Nats, they do not keep that honour long; they go and join the ancestors as soon as the people stop entertaining them in the spirits' sanctuary.

The common opinion is that one is happy with the ancestors, whether they sojourn at the tomb, or dwell in the far away countries; but one cannot exactly say in what the happiness of the other world consists, it would seem it consists especially in the pleasure of meeting again father and mother. For some Kachins the kingdom of shades is a country of continual flowers and fruits, still, the old Jaiwa and most people say that at the ancestors' residence the minlas lead the Sanu life they led before changing their skin; they remain princes or men of the common sort, officials of the Nats or common folk, and there, just as in this world, they must work in order to live. Dreams are perhaps the origin of this opinion, or, at least, help to give it credit. Kachins believe the dead appear in dreams, and in most cases, they naturally see them in the same state they were in during their life time; this is why Kachins make, especially when one dies, many presents to the souls to serve them as provisions for the journey and facilitate their beginning a new life; but the minlas can not forget this earth, they like to visit it frequently, and are happy to be able to live again in the body of a child or even that of a domestic animal. So, it is not very pleasant at the ancestors', and

we may truly say that Kachins have no paradise, or have one which is only material and void of delight.

They have a hell, or rather hells, because they recognise several places of torture. There is first the great cauldron of boiling water before reaching the distant kingdom of the ancestors; a Nat keeps watch over it and throws into it the minlas of liars, adulterers, murderers, etc., who very soon are annihilated by the boiling. But that hell is laughed at by the lords and those who place the residence of the shades at the tomb; the others believe they can easily go round it, and many tribes do not even find it on their way when going to the ancestors.

This very notion of hell does not appear to be primitive among them, because nowhere is its origin found in their Mythology which nevertheless tries to explain everything. They may have borrowed it little by little from the Shans, their neighbours, and call it as yet by the same name of Mung Ngarai. The hells which have a purely Kachin stamp are the kingdoms of the Lasas, the Ndang and the Mana. There one is not subjected to the torture of boiling water or of other punishments, but one becomes an evil Nat and a slave of wicked spirits, and this constitutes a torment, the thought of which frightens the living a great deal. Yet the minlas which become Saun or Lasa can be delivered; there is no possibility of buying off the souls of fools and their condition is the worst of all.

Such are the opinions of the Kachins about the other world; they must not have great influence on their moral life, because happiness or unhappiness, beyond the grave, do not depend on the good or the evil one has done, but only on the chance, of a natural death, or that caused by an accident.

MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE KACHINS (BURMA)

The Country as it is nowadays

The hilly country occupied nowadays by the Kachins has been created by their national hero Ningkaung Wa and he did not take the trouble of forging this part of the earth (*see Mythology*). This country is traversed from north to south by the Mali Kha and the 'nMai Kha, which by their juncture a little above Myitkiyna, form the Irrawady. This great river receives an amount of affluents, among which the Taping at Bhamo and the Shweli more to the south, are the most considerable. The rivers run, as a rule, between mountains, yet they water and fertilise sometimes beautiful valleys, generally occupied by Shans or Burmese.

The Kachins find it is too hot and that there are too many mosquitoes in the plains, and live only on the mountains. It is, moreover, the part distributed to them by Ningkaung Wa in days of old, and when they complained that there nothing to live upon was to be found, the great spirit simply answered them: "Rob your neighbours, but don't allow yourselves to be caught."

The Kachin mountains are indeed not fertile, or if they are, the inhabitants do not know how to exploit them, or will not take the trouble to do so. Nearly everywhere they are abrupt, covered with forests and very hard to cultivate; that's why the Kachins are satisfied with making them produce a little rice and some vegetables, unhappily often destroyed by monkeys, porcupines, wild boars and birds. All the Kachins rear fowls and some pigs, but the wild cat, khan, and the polecat, malat, take away the fowls; the wolf, chyshaun, and the leopard, raung gru, the pigs. They rear little cattle; only the wealthier possess some oxen, buffaloes

and horses; they hardly take any care of them, and the young ones often become the prey of the tiger, sharaung; moreover, except the horse which the Nats do not eat, all the domestic animals are occasionally immolated to the spirits. Consequently everything helps to make the Kachins unhappy, and no wonder they have put into practice Ningkaun Wa's advice and taken the habit of making frequent forays among their neighbours the Shans or the Burmese in order to lessen their misery. Happily, at least in the country the Kachins occupy, the English have put a stop to pillage, and nowadays the Kachins, if they wish to live, must resign themselves to work.

It is by mistake that I have in the introduction to the Mythology, divided the Kachins into some ten tribes; the Kachins properly so called, comprise only five principal families: (1) the Marip ni; (2) the Lathaung ni; (3) the Laphai ni; (4) the 'nKhum ni; (5) the Maran ni; whose chiefs or lords, according to the legend, are the sons of Washet Wa Makam, great, grandson of Ningkaung Wa. These five tribes are in their turn, subdivided into branches and sub-branches. Alongside of the Kachins properly so named, you find the Maru, the Azi or Atsi, and the Lashy, who, according to the Jaiwa, are of different origin, but have many customs in common. All these families are intercalated one between the other yet without being mixed; they live separately in groups dispersed in different villages, each a different territory.

The villages are often far the one from the other and thinly populated; the number of houses in each village varies from between ten to a hundred, and one family, at least among the Kauris, has an average of three or four children. Although the Kachin family appears to be numerous, the population was slackened in its development by the massacre, or by the slave trade, which both

were practised before the English occupation; from that time, the population seems to increase more rapidly. The total number on English territory is, according to an English official, Mr. Rae, 36,560, amongst whom five or six thousand Kauris. But this number seems to be below the reality, the total population is probably more than 100,000. The Kachins are divided in two classes: the Du ni, lords, and the Tarat ni, commoners. The princely families are not very numerous; we find one or two at the head of each village. The lords like the commoners are cultivators and work, they themselves, to get something to eat. In ordinary times, nothing distinguishes them from the common folk, but according to the legend, the Du ni descend from Ningkaung Wa, the great forger of the earth, and in principle, are masters of all the territory in their village. In practice, nevertheless, the private rights are recognised and the Tarat ni can dispose of their property on condition of their paying to the Du wa, the ordinary tribute which is (1) one or two baskets rice per year; (2) a leg of each ox or buffalo immolated to the Nats; (3) a leg of all the big game killed in the hunt; (4) some days of work per year, etc. You also find slaves, but, since the arrival of the English, their number has diminished so much that you meet hardly any.

CHAPTER II

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

The Kachins are not aborigines, but come from the north, and probably from some part of Tibet. According to the Jaiwa, the Du ni at first lived in the Ka ang Ka, kingdom of Ningkaung Wa; and the Tarat ni, in the Kha Khu Ka, the country where the Irrawady has its source.

Here is the information the old bard gives me about those mysterious places. The Ka ang Ka is far away towards the north, in the middle of the earth; it is a marvellous country where you find everything and where everything is straight: trees, bamboos are straight, creepers climb straight, all the leaves are vertical and look up to the sky, rice is straight and grows without cultivation; all animals are good; snakes do not bite, tigers and leopards do not attack; men are full of justice, ding phring de; among them are no thieves, no disturbers, all are happy although subject to sickness and death. There are no Shans, no Burmese, no Chinese, no Kalas, foreigners, the inhabitants are exclusively Du ni. These, by going away from the centre of the earth, become little by little imperfect like other men.

At three or four miles from the Ka ang Ka, rises the mountain called Majoi Shing ra Bum; on the top is the famous tree of riches, Sut phun nu (*see Mythology*), near which is the great rock Lungtong. On that mountain there is not one man; it is inhabited by the Nats, and especially by the Jahtun ni. At the foot of the Majoi Shing ra Bum, the Mali Kha, Irrawady, takes its source, and there is the Kha Khu Ka, first fatherland of the Tarat ni or ordinary Kachins. The latter, when finding they are too numerous, emigrate towards the south, but very soon they quarrel among themselves, and

no one has authority to settle them. Happily they then meet the Du ni and take them as chiefs and judges. The lords on their side have no priests and are very happy to find among their subjects Jaiwas, Dumsas, Kingjaungs, etc. Henceforth Du ni and Tarat ni are but one people, they go down together southwards and little by little occupy the country they inhabit nowadays, after having driven out of it Chinese, Shans and Palaungs; the old bard counts and enumerates twenty generations from the time his forefathers left the Kha Khu Ka. All the Kachins agree with him in giving the sources of the Irrawady as their country of origin.

Their coming to the mountains which they inhabit is of pretty recent date, that is why the Kauris count only seven generations since they have settled at Kuthung and in its neighbourhood. To the oral tradition are added local proofs. The Kachins, especially the lords, know the tombs of their ancestors; now, the actual Du wa counts only six of them, scattered in different places. These data given by the people themselves coincide with what Mr. H. F. Hertz writes of them. "All authorities are agreed that the Chimpau tribes have spread southwards and westwards from near the sources of the Irrawady, and, as George says, in the Kachin Gazetteer, all traditions point to the head-waters of the Irrawady as the ancestral home from which the Kachin tribes have emerged. There are signs that a section of the Chin tribes, called Khang by the Kachins, once occupied a portion of the western water-shed of the Mali kha, from which they were gradually ousted and driven south-westwards across the Chindwin by the Chimpau tribes. The latter continuing southwards possessed themselves of the hill tracts on both sides of the Irrawady, the migratory movement being strongest on the eastern side of the river, south of the confluence of the Mali Kha and the 'n May Kha. At this point it would appear that the Kachins first came into contact with the Palaung tribes inhabit-

ing these tracts and gradually forced them southwards. Without a more intimate acquaintance with the people and the conditions of life in the hill tracts further north, it would be difficult to say what caused the very rapid rise and spread of the Kachin tribes, for it is from all accounts some 300 to 400 years ago at most that they first showed signs of the strong vitality and enterprise which has placed them in possession of the extensive tracts we now find them in. Not only were the Palaungs and Chins forced southwards and westwards by the expansion of the Kachin tribes, but the Shans in the Khamti and Hukaung valleys, as well as smaller communities of them inhabiting the minor valleys watered by tributaries of the Mali Kha, became enveloped and isolated by the movement. The Shans in Khamti, though practically cut off from all communication with the outside world, have so far succeeded in holding their own against the Kachins, while the Hukaung Shans have been driven out, excepting those in some three or four small villages, who are content to remain paying tribute to Kachin Chiefs by whom they are protected. The smaller communities in the tracts between the confluence Mali Kha and 'nMay Kha and Khamti have long since disappeared.

CHAPTER III

PHYSIQUE AND DRESS.

1. Physique

It is hard to describe the Kachin type, because it is far from being unique. In general we may say a Kachin is small and thick-set; Mr. Hertz gives five feet four inches as the average height of a man, and four feet eleven inches and a half for that of a woman. Exceptions, however, are numerous; among the Kauris, especially, we find beautiful statures in both sexes. A Kachin has nut-brown hair, eyes oblique and the visual faculty much developed, a flat nose, thick lips, teeth solid, nearly always blackened from chewing tobacco and other ingredients, an oval face and a jovial look; beard scanty, as he pulls out the few hairs which chance to grow and keeps only a small bit of a moustache at both extremities of the lips.

The colour of his skin varies from light black to clear brown, but it is dirty brown, which predominates. A Kachin has, in fact, not the habit of washing often, and his clothes, once put on his body, remain there as a rule till, rotten by sweat, dirt and vermin, they fall into shreds; then only is a new dress put on and generally above the old. From time to time you meet with albinos, but they are rare.

2. Dress

The costume varies a little according to the tribes; I shall speak only of that of the Kauris amongst whom I am living. A considerable difference exists between the dress of a man and that of a woman. A man's dress is one of the simplest : a vest, palaung,

of deep blue, sometimes white, crossed in front and going down a bit lower than the belt, then broad trousers, labu, of the same colour as the vest, and going down hardly lower than the knees. A Kachin is, however, not so much attached to his costume that he rejects every other piece of clothing: he is often seen with Burmese clothes, Chinese coats and old European rags.

A woman wears a vest, palaung, of the same colour and shape as that of a man, but which differs owing to many ornaments. On the upper border in front, is sewn a red small band on which is fixed a close line of silver buttons, dugaup, which prolongs itself round the collar; this collar is often adorned with a second line of buttons of the same metal, but larger. Children or poor girls replace those costly buttons by white shirt-buttons called pakyin. To both sleeves is attached, in the shape of an armlet, a strip of red or checkered cloth on which are fixed five buttons, always silver, in the shape of a cross (†). Finally the lower end of the coat is adorned with a strip of red cloth, one hand broad with a white binding on the upper border; another red strip passes on the middle of the back and is crossed with small pieces of the same tissue. As a skirt, a woman wraps round her waist a solid and beautiful cloth, coming down to the knees, which she herself has woven and which is embellished with designs of many colours. Over all she wears any amount of rattan rings, painted black, with chaplets composed of pearls, very small bells, shells or shirt-buttons. On feast days, she adorns herself with a red belt, Shingyit, to which are suspended acorns, tinglum, made with a variety of threads and pearls of different colours.

The costume of the princesses is nearly the same; a little richer, however, when means allow it; their distinctive decoration consists in two rows of silver plates, sepat, fixed on the front of their vest, and one of five other plates in the middle of the back.

3. Ornaments

Very early they pierce the children's ears, but differently according to the sex. For boys, they pierce only the lobe of the left ear; they gradually make the hole bigger, and insert flowers in it till they can afford to buy more precious earrings, kumpraung lapau, rings in silver on which hang light trinkets of the same metal. The poor are content with small rolls of paper or cloth which they leave aside when attaining an advanced age.

Lords and rich people wear round their neck a string of precious pearls, kashi, of a yellow colour. On grand occasions they exhibit a small complete toilet requisite, which hangs on a button of their vest, and consists in tooth-picks, ear-cleaners, pincers to pull out hairs, etc., and, of course, everything in silver; they also adorn their left arm with a bracelet, lakaung, which is solid or hollow.

Women have more ornaments; they pierce both ears in the middle of the pavillon and in the lobe. On the first hole they hang with a small red ribbon plates of enamelled silver, three inches long and one inch and a half broad, to which are sometimes suspended with thin chains, very tiny bells also of silver. On the second hole, which is considerably larger, they pass horizontally tubes, lakan, always of silver, fifteen to twenty centimetres long, thicker at the end in front, and into which they insert flowers or strips of cloth of many colours.

A young girl first wears necklaces of common pearls, dutau, but as she grows up she adds to them five to six big rings, latsang, they are all silver; some solid, tsangtaung, others hollow, tsangkraung, flat, tsangpyet, or twisted, tsangrit. She also adorns both wrists with flat bracelets, the length of which varies from five, kaungsep, to ten centimetres, kaunlaupat.

These jewels are the Kachin woman's only treasure; it is her dowry when she marries; and also, as a savings-box, from which she draws to meet urgent needs. Rarely in fact does she keep all her ornaments till she is well advanced in years; she sells them little by little to get the needful for herself or her family and for victims to the spirits. Besides necklaces, well-to-do ladies also wear a kashi resembling that of the men.

Both adorn the space below the knee with an amount of small circles made of cane and painted black, then, add leggings. A woman's leggings, shitup, have the shape of gaiters and are made of embroidered linen; a man's, lagaun ashen, consist in a dark-blue long piece of cloth which is rolled round the leg.

Everybody walks, as a rule, bare-footed; yet in winter some people sometimes use sandals plaited by themselves. A wallet is also for Kachins an indispensable article. It is a kind of square pocket in which they carry their provisions and the little things they are fond of. The sachel and its shoulder-belt are woven by the wife and, as a rule, are pretty, owing to the mingling of threads, pearls and fringes which adorn them. Young men hang on their wallet, a piece of embroidered cloth, and at both ends of it are fringes and pearls of many colours; on the outward border of the pocket they fix small silver buttons and also at times some trinkets. Young daughters use similar ornaments of silver, but in place of the embroidered piece, suspend acorns like those of their belt.

Men always carry with them a sword, ninjthu, in a wooden sheath; it is their principal tool for their work; they use it as knife, hatchet, plane, razor and even sometimes as pick-axe. They hang it on their shoulder with a string of rattan threads, to which they like to fix one side of the lower jaw of a leopard, a wild boar or any other wild animal.

Colouring and artificial disfiguration are unknown to the Kachins; they neither tattoo themselves, yet those who have frequent communications with Burmese or Shans have sometimes on the chest or the arms designs in the shape of birds or animals.

4. Head-dress

Small children have generally long hair; but from a very early age boys let it grow on the top of their head. All their life they keep this tuft which they knot and adorn with a wild boar's tusk. From time to time they shave the borders of their head without touching the bouquet which is seldom combed.

Young girls crop their hair in front towards the middle of the forehead, and behind, they let it grow up to the shoulders without ever tying it.

When women have reached a certain age between 25 and 30 years, they let grow all their hair which they bring back and knot on the top of their head. Then only do they wear a deep-blue turban which they roll, leaving to the cloth its full breadth so as to give it the shape of a tube.

Man's head-dress also consists in a long red turban, blue or white, rolled in such a way as to leave the chignon visible in the middle.

Whilst finishing this chapter it is good to remark that children are clad from a pretty early age. A boy first puts on his sword and wallet; a little girl, the pearl necklaces, bracelets of bulrushes and afterwards a vest. Gradually the costume completes itself, and, between five and seven years, is becoming for all, and it is decent before that age in well-to-do families which like to supply their children with clothes from an early age.

CHAPTER IV

FOOD, DRINK AND DRUGS

1. Food

It is generally the wife who prepares the food; but when needful, men and even children do the cooking. Oh! it is not complicated; a Kachin menu is of the simplest kind: sometimes it is only rice seasoned with salt and pepper; often nevertheless they add to it a curry of vegetables or of leaves of the forest, always boiled without grease or oil. On feast days or on sacrifice-days, to the daily fare they add meat of the victims, as a rule cooked. Kachins take three meals a day: one in the morning, between seven and eight, the other in the afternoon, and the third towards eight o'clock in the evening. They are not particular about their food, they eat nearly everything which can be eaten. Formerly they roasted and ate the parchments of science, nowadays they roast and devour the skins of the buffaloes and that of everything they immolate. For them the favourite meat is that of fowls, pigs, oxen and buffaloes; they prefer it to any other, likely because they have the habit of immolating those animals to the spirits and of feasting on them more frequently. They have a slight repugnance for meat of sheep, sagu, monkeys, woi, bears, tsap, dogs, leopards and boas; they abstain from cats' meat and horse flesh; they do not eat human flesh either, and they boldly assert that their ancestors never ate human flesh.

Stoves are unknown; they cook their rice and curry in copper or iron boilers, which they buy from the Chinese; sometimes they cook their rice after the hot-water-bath system in a cylinder of plaited bamboos. All the other utensils requisite for domestic use: jugs, decanters, etc., are made of thick bamboos the length of

which varies. With thinner bamboos they make sheaths with a lid on, they are shaped like a cup, tingkhru, and are 20 to 25 centimetres long; both sheath and lid are often used by them as drinking cups; generally they are well chiseled and look nice; every Kachin carries his tingkhru in his wallet. Sometimes, especially on the journeys, they use bamboo to cook rice or to heat water; they put the bamboo in the fire, so, that only one part is attacked by the flame; before the bamboo is burnt, the contents are cooked or boiling. Plantain leaves and others serve as plates, and the hands as fork and spoon; some old people, however, catch with small sticks, koize, the food which is served out to them, curry in small bowls of earthenware, 'nkha wan, and rice folded in leaves on plaited bamboo platters, 'nkaut.

2. Drink

Beer.—A Kachin's ordinary drink is water; nevertheless they frequently indulge in a cup of beer, phye, of which we saw the origin in the mythology; here is the way of preparing that beverage.

First of all, several families club together in order to prepare the leaven, matsi, which is needed. An even number of women, never of men, generally four or six, go to the forest to pluck from the shrubs, the seeds of which, of yore, came out of the womb of Ning Kaung, leaves bitter, sweet, pungent, etc. Two women, pointed out by a sorcerer, grind them both together, and add to those leaves a larger quantity of husked rice, pepper, ginger, etc. They obtain in this way a sort of paste, which they spread on a mat and cover with large leaves, they let it dry three days during which they are to eat nothing acid, nor have conjugal intercourse with their husband, without which the beer would be acid. If during that time some one dies in the village, the leaven becomes unclean and you must have it purified by a

dumsa, or make a new one. The fourth day, the leaven is ready; the partners divide it among themselves and keep it in a bamboo on the rapting to use it when required. From this day, every mistress of the house can prepare phye properly so called, when she likes. To make phye they cook together and in the same proportion millet, ya, and white rice; sometimes half-husked rice is the only one used. When cooked they spread it on a mat, let it cool and add some leaven. Then they put the whole, which is called tsa, in a basket, and wait three, four days till it gives forth an agreeable odour. They then put it in an amphora, which they stop as well as can be. In three or four days, when fermentation is sufficient, they fill the amphora with water, and in a few instants they have beer, phye, which they tap without delay.

First they offer some to the household Nats to be preserved from sickness, then they drink of it copiously, and all those who present themselves get a generous share of it. The whole provision is out in less than a day; besides, this beverage does not keep good a long time. When the quantity does not suffice, they put again water, but then the beer is of inferior quality.

If unhappily the beer is acid, inevitably one of the three evil spirits, which are able to make it sour, is accused of having bitten in the leaven. Among Mushin, thunder, Maraung, goblin, and phyi, soul of a sorcerer, a soothsayer always finds out the guilty one, to whom they immolate what he desires; and the women again gather to prepare a better matsi.

On feast days on which they plough their rice-fields or do other heavy work, Kachins also indulge in what they call tsapa. It is a sort of rice, mam baung, boiled on the hot-water-bath system, which they submit to all the preparations of beer. They eat it with its juice, and if taken in too great a quantity, it produces the same effects as spirituous liquors.

Brandy.—Beer is not heady enough for Kachins, that is why they must have brandy or grog, laukhry, to brace themselves up, and in order to make their feasts a complete success. When they have grog, every one, men, women, children, drink their fill of it. In the number there are always some who overstep the mark; then, if they are of a calm temperament, they doze away in some corner and are respected; fighting-cocks often get up quarrels; but whatever may befall them, their having been in a drunken state is always afterwards an attenuating circumstance which is taken into consideration.

The best brandy they drink is the one they buy from the Chinese or Burmese, but when they have plenty of rice they find it more economical to make brandy themselves. Beer and its residuum are the distilled matter; the alembic, one of the simplest, is a large caldron of cast-iron, ma-au, covered with another of the same dimensions, phugau, with a small opening to let in a bamboo tube, sengkang, which adapts itself to the condensor. The latter consists in a vase of clay with double walls, yampyam, making in this way two recipients: one inside, full of water to cool the steam, the other between the walls, where alcohol condenses. This last recipient has two openings: one near the upper border through which the tube lets in the steam, the other towards the bottom through which the liquor leaks out. They stop with kneaded clay the several junctures through which steam might escape. The brandy thus obtained is not of a superior quality, but when there is no other, Kachins are always in a hurry to taste it.

3. Drugs

Every Kachin chews tobacco, malaut, some men smoke it, nobody takes it as snuff. Old people

say that everybody, even women, smoked it in long pipes four or five generations ago; gradually this habit disappeared and was replaced by the quid, mixture of tobacco and other substances; even to-day a cigar or a stump of one is not despised.

Although tobacco grows on the mountains, the Kachins do not cultivate it on a grand scale; they are satisfied with sowing some plants in their garden for their own use. They make it undergo no preparation whatever; when the time is there, they gather it, cut it roughly in pieces, expose it to the dew during night and afterwards let it dry in the sun. Shan or Burmese tobacco, being better prepared and less insipid, has their preference and that is why they buy some provisions of it when they can.

In a quid, besides tobacco, a Kachin puts also kangse si, betel nut, bu lap, betel leaf, shaji or sasi, cutch, pinlang, sort of betel, kathaung lap, leaf of a creeper, and namthun, lime.

Betel does not grow on the mountains; Kachins who wish to have some must get it from the Burmese, seldom however do they buy any. They use nuts and leaves of the pinlang which grows in their country, and in default of pinlang, they take kathaung lap or yangbau lap, a kind of ivy, which they easily find in the forest.

The shaji is extracted from the leaves or the bark of the lanyen phun or lamau phun, sorts of acacia, the decoction of which they boil till complete consistency; sometimes, however, the bark is used without any preparation.

Kachins burn lime, but do not wash it as carefully as the Burmese or Chinese, and therefore like to buy from those neighbours. Each individual keeps a small supply of those different articles in the separate compartments of a box, yep, made of plaited bamboos and covered with gum lac. He always carries it in his wallet

and offers it to his friends like some people offer their snuff-box. To have a good quid you must take some pinlang, shaji, a good pinch of tobacco and some namthun.

4. *Opium.*—It is only from two or three generations that men use opium; my old bard assures me that when he was a child hardly anybody smoked opium, and that it was imported in the country by the Chinese. This does not prevent Jaiwas and Dunis giving opium an entirely Kachin origin.

Formerly, they say, a young princess was in one and the same evening asked in marriage by nine noble suitors; the difficulty of choosing made her so sad that she died that very night. The following morning they buried her, and behold! from her head sprouted the yayen, a bad kind of poppy, and from her pudenda, the poppy which yields opium of the best quality. Nowadays the use of this narcotic is pretty much spread, it would be spread much more were opium not so dear and the English police hindered not its traffic. Nearly half of the Kachins smoke or eat opium; the sober ones consume one to two grams of it per day, the passionate, from three to six and the most extra from ten to fifteen; the latter are rare. In order to avoid too great expenses and satisfy their craving, a good many have begun to grow opium, which they generally sow in their garden round the house. When the head of the poppy is sufficiently developed, they make small incisions in it through which trickles the juice which remains stuck to the capsule. With a knife they scrape it off, spread it on a cloth or on petals of the flower, shut it up in bamboo tubes, and keep it till they wish to use it. Opium so obtained, is, it seems, of a quality much inferior to that which is bought from the Chinese; consequently, when their means allow it, Kachins buy from them, and as a rule, manage to baffle the vigilance of the police. Before using it they boil it with some water in a ladle of red copper, and with

the juice they obtain, wet plantain leaves very finely carved, which they first have roasted before a fire. They make little balls of it on which they blow repeatedly and which they swallow or smoke according to each one's taste. Those who smoke opium take care to purify and cool the smoke by making it pass through water at the bottom of their long pipe which is generally made of bamboo.

CHAPTER V

KACHIN DWELLINGS

1. Hospitality

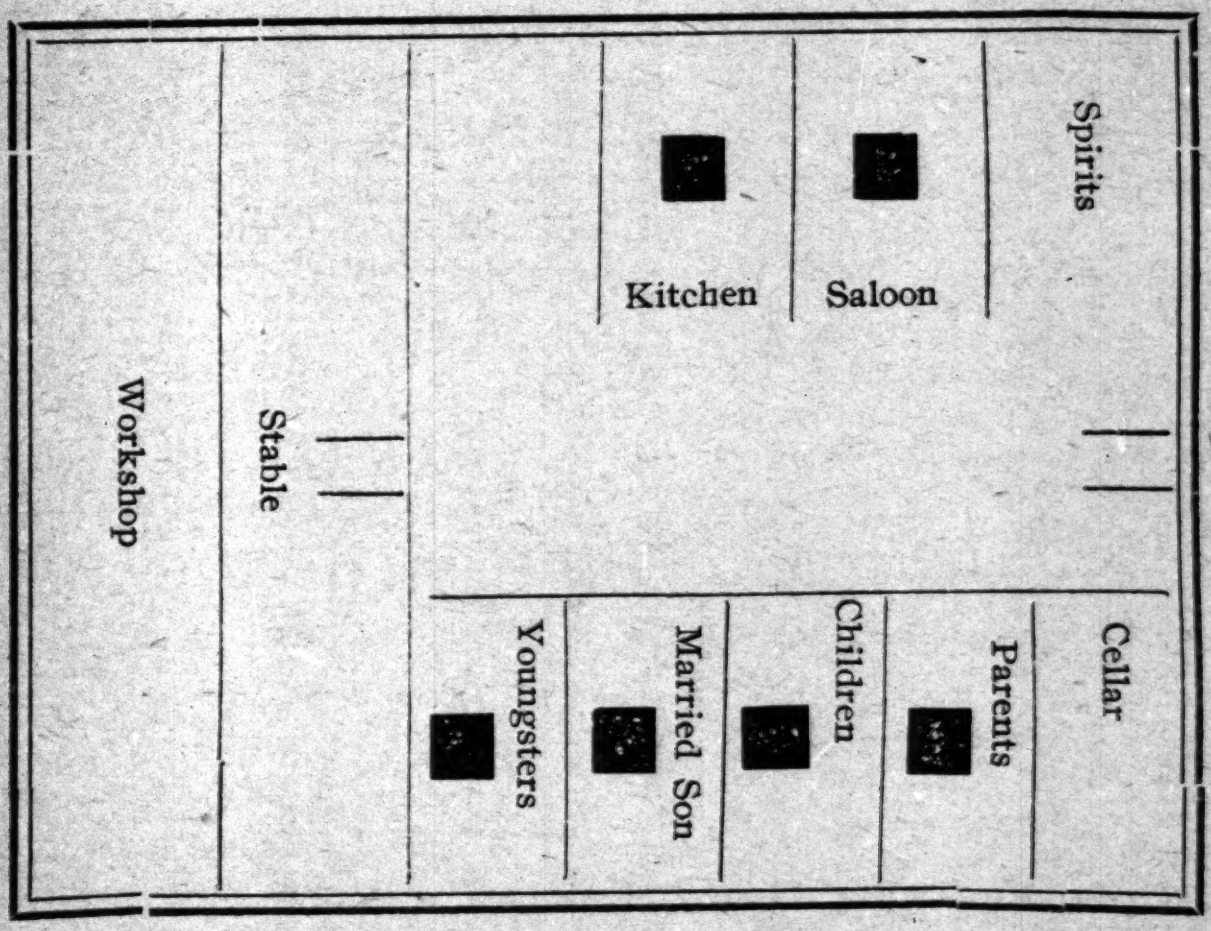
After the harvest, when it is fair weather and at home there is no work, Kachins like to visit their friends or buy grog, opium, swords, etc., which they again sell with profit.

They take only a little rice in their wallet and start on pretty long journeys. The forest gives them utensils to cook and roots to flavour their meals; a tree with plenty of leaves is a sufficient shelter for them to pass the night; when they find no such heavily-crowned tree, they cut some long grasses and make a small roof under which they sleep near a good fire, which keeps them warm and preserves them from mosquitoes and tigers. Yet they do so only when they find no house on their way. On the Kachin mountains, the rules of hospitality are sacred, and all travellers are well received wherever they present themselves. Generally they go to some friend's, or, in default of such a friend, to the lords' or to the house of one the great men of the place. Through fear of offending the Nats they do not go in the house, if the master is absent, but if the master is at home, they do not wait to be invited to take up their quarters in the rap dau, or visitors' room.

Their hosts must feed them the whole time of their stay, yet, travellers must observe some formalities like the following: to put down their sword when arriving, not to enter private rooms, not to go to the wunthung, a part of the house reserved for the Nats. When they have conformed to these formalities, they are like at home, hospitality being for them rather a right than a favour. Anyone who should, without serious reasons, refuse strangers to come into his house, or should receive

them badly, would commit an offence which would be the cause of many quarrels and might bring about bloodshed, but as the rules of hospitality are ordinarily well kept, such cases are very rare.

2. Dwellings



A. Plan of a Kachin House (■ = Hearths.)

1. *Form and Disposition of the House.*—Every Kachin house must be like Ningkaung Wa's famous palace, whose construction we have spoken of in the Mythology.

It is oblong, not high, and, according to the owner's means, is between thirty and a hundred feet long, and between twenty or twenty-five broad. It always has two parts: a shed, npau, with well-to-do people, is in

its turn subdivided into two compartments : that nearest the house, is used for a stable—every night, before the English occupation, they did shut up in it oxen, buffaloes and horses that they might not be stolen—the other, quite in front, is used as workshop; the women there pound rice, and the men engage in the various domestic occupations.

The house proper has a bamboo floor two or three feet above the ground, which allows them to put pigs underneath. The sides, also in bamboo, like all other partitions in fact, are four or five feet high and generally without openings; in too long houses, though, they make one or two small doors, ko ot, to let in some light and make the service easier. The partitions of the extremities are a little drawn in, so as to leave outside a verandah two or three feet broad; a corner of that in front is closed and serves as a hen-coop. A door is made towards the middle, in front and at the back of the dwelling; the first which opens on the shed, is for going in and out; two thick bars, placed contiguously, make the staircase which has, for steps, notches always in even number. The second opening especially serves to give light and easily to throw outside all sorts of rubbish; even the people of the house, except in the palaces, do not go in and out by it, and if any stranger coming to ask hospitality, should dare to cross it, he would grievously offend his hosts and the domestic Nats; but, should he stay many days, he becomes like one of the family and may go near it.

Inside, a partition without reaching the extremities, divides the house in the middle in its length and in each part are found the several apartments which every Kachin house must have. On one side are the private rooms; near the entrance door there is first the room of the young folk, 'nla dap, then the children's, and if needful, the married son's dap pren, then the parents',

dap nu, or gauk, finally near the partition at the bottom a free corner, kamtin lata, which serves as a cellar for beer or grog amphoras and other provisions.

The opposite side is public and not shut with special partitions; there is, first, a place to get rid of water, fire wood, etc., the kitchen, shat dap, or saka dap, then the salon or visitors' room, rap dau, finally the sanctuary of the domestic Nats, Nat wunthung, where visitors are not to go. On sacrifice days they put up in the wunthung a small altar to give the Nats to eat, but the common folk, tarat ni, destroy them afterwards, because their protecting gods have no right to permanent tables. Lords and commoners always preserve the cups of the good spirits they honour and fix them to the partition; those of the evil spirits, jahtuns, sauns, etc., are lodged outside and hidden in the thatch of the hangar.

A single roof, carried by three rows of stakes, covers the shed and the house; it advances from five to ten feet at the front end, and from three to five at the back end. They give it this shape because they think it reminds them of the shape of the bird, sinpi wu, which announced rain and decided Ningkaung Wa to make for himself a palace.

2. *Preparation of the Materials.*—When our Kachins think of building a house, they first consult the household Nats, to which they sacrifice whatever they ask and then set about preparing the materials. It is after the rice is in, in February, they begin, and in order to hurry up the work, hire one or more workmen, nchyang, and make neighbours and friends help them. In the forest the men fell trees for stakes, cross-beams and every piece needed. And to make them lighter, they prepare everything on the spot: they give the stakes the form of porcupine quills, and to the principal pieces of the roof, that of a snake, just as Ningkaung Wa, their illustrious model, did. The bamboos, which they use

for partitions, floor, rafters and laths, are cut on certain days of the moon, so that they may not be worm-eaten : the first and the last, the seventh and the fifteenth, and the monthly birthday of everyone.

In the clearings, the women pick up big bundles of thatching grass for the roof. When all is ready, two three times the whole village is invited to help bringing all the materials on the spot. No animals are used to bring the pieces ; the men drag or carry on their shoulders what they have prepared, and the women carry on their back, just like a back-basket, the bundles of thatch, shangu, which they have let dry on the spot. When there is a general invitation to give help, ka sau de, the ordinary fare is nicer, beer is given copiously, but no money is given for those services ; they are returned when needed.

3. *Choice of the Site.*—Often the new house is built on the spot of the old ; yet if they find that place is not good on account of some misfortune, which came over them, or if a married child separates from the family, it is necessary to choose a new spot. Then they call on the kind ministrations of the soothsayers. On the spot where they wish to build, they take some earth which they bring to a dumsa ; the latter beats it with a small bamboo which he afterwards makes burst on a fire, ka shaman waut de : if fibres in the shape of a stake are produced, it is a sign that the site is good ; still, to make yet surer of it, they use besides one of more of the following means.

In a piece of bamboo, between two lines, they put as many grains of husked rice as there are members in the family ; they bury it on the chosen spot and leave it there till the following morning. If not one grain has come out from between the marks, it is a good sign ; on the contrary, if one has separated or has disappeared, it is a

sign that one of the family shall soon die if they establish themselves on that spot.

They likewise bury two eggs or some fermented rice; they unearth them after some days and it is a good sign if the eggs are not spoiled, or if the tsa has not turned sour.

They also pour some water in a bamboo, which they put in the ground always in the desired spot. After one night, if the water has diminished, it is a good sign, they may build there.

When they have sacrificed a fowl or a small pig to the Nat, who is master of the place, Thingra masu nu Makang du, Janun's son, in order that he may not cause any sickness, they clean and level the spot.

The good signs of the experiences already made are confirmed, if a horse, a buffalo or an ox come and answer there a call of nature; on the contrary, if it is a dog or a pig, they must begin again elsewhere.

4. *Construction of the House.*—When people have found a good place and carried all the materials to the spot, they put up a temporary hut for the family and all their belongings; they offer to the domestic Nats the sacrifices they desire, then they put those spirits, or rather their cups, nat lau, in a small basket which they hang on a corner of the temporary hut; they then break down the old house to make use of the pieces which are still good. Finally they build the new house; they choose a market day in a Shan village or an even day of the moon to put up the two principal middle stakes; the same day or the following, they plant the others : daunu, central stakes, damkan or sharem dau, side stakes.

The proprietor and his workmen do the small jobs, but several times they invite all the friends, ko saw de, one day to put the beams, tingbat, and the small stakes, dan sha, which support them, the joists, wulu, and the

wooden floor, chingchyeng; another day to make the partitions and put the rafters, lapa, and the laths, share, of the roof; finally to cover the house. Generally they use no nails whatever, but bind the different pieces together with ratan or bamboo straps; and as much as possible, the several pieces horizontally placed, must have the foot or the thick end going from the front to the back of the dwelling.

5. *Roof, nta galup, and Solemn entrance, thing-shaung shang de.*

To cover the house and take possession of it, they choose, as when beginning it, a lucky day, by preference in the first quarter of the moon; then they invite all the people of the village and the friends of the neighbourhood; they come in great numbers and many bring presents: some, rice, others, dried fish, or meat, beer, etc. In the morning the proprietors enter solemnly into the house: the husband precedes or follows the wife, according to the soothsayer's indication, and brings the box with his precious things, and the cups of the domestic Nats, which he puts in their proper place; the wife brings the pot to cook rice and the tripod; then the friends help to put the different objects in order.

During this time, or sometimes before, they produce new fire; in order to obtain it they must always follow the directions which the Nat Wun Lawa Makam in days of old gave to man. Before the house they fix on the ground with small stakes a piece of bamboo which is perfectly dry; at both ends sit down, facing each other, a man, fourth by birth called de'n Tu and a woman also fourth and called 'n Thu; one of them catches the wrists of the other who has in his hand another piece of bamboo which both, pressing vigorously, rub on the first. Soon fire is struck and spreads to the chips of wood, Shabing, contained in the bamboo they have in hand. Then they light shavings and, when they burn well, a dumsa

comes with two torches which he lights. The one which burns less is supposed to be the bad fire, malu wan kinju want, and capable of putting the house on fire; therefore the dumsa throws it far away saying: "Be off, bad fire, go to the nearest ravine and from there to the end of the world." The torch which burns well is kept, because it has the good fire, the companion-fire, mazum wan lakhum wan; the dumsa introduces it in the new house and repeats: "Fire, our companion, we finish the house, let us enter and remain friends for ever; cook well the rice, the meat, etc."; then he distributes that fire to all the hearths where the women begin to cook the provisions for the evening meal.

During that time the young men busy themselves covering the house; the girls draw water, give beer to everybody, and if necessary, also help making the roof. Old people, sitting down quietly, have a chat and make bamboo straps to bind the thatch; the children play about or bring things along. In the evening, when the covering is done, the dumsa gives the good news to the household Nats and offers them beer and prays them to watch well over the new house and its inmates, then they give to everybody packets of rice and curry with plenty of cups of beer. Then some of those who had been invited go away; but many remain to pass the whole night in a merry-making.

6. *Night feast*.—The big wigs and the older people gather in the rapdan, and a dumsa, in old formulas, first evokes Makhu nu majan, Miss Fine-Voice, and Nyup 'nshu majan, Miss Old, daughters of Miss Beauty, Prau Majan, who live towards the sources of the Irrawady; the first has the speciality of preventing hoarseness, and the second, sleep; and, to make them favourable, offers them water, beer and dried fish. Then the priest exorcises malu wan kinjuwan, bad fire, 'nbung kanu, small gimlet, mazep masa, insect, which attacks thatch, skakrep, bug,

kakrung, white-ants, ngauting ngantang, defect in the position of the pieces and other imperfections of construction, etc. He afterwards relates the origin of houses, lalai kai de, which he traces to Ningkaung Wa, recalls how the hero succeeded in making the first house (*vide* Mythology) and relates till morning the mythological legends he knows.

During that time, the young people are gathered in the 'nla dap, and amuse themselves in their own way. Some actors perform the whole night, but, before giving their songs, they exact some forfeits which can later be redeemed with a little money; the boys give them their swords, and the girls, their necklaces and bracelets. Then a singer, as a rule an apprentice dumsa, in his turn invokes Miss Fine-Voice and Miss Old, gives them presents and adorns them with jewels; then begin joyful songs, majan jan. Some young men, and sometimes young ladies, start, one after the other, in imagination, for Bhamo or China, buy gongs, clothes, horses, buffaloes, rice, brandy, etc., and place everything at the feet of the owner of the house, a way of wishing him all kinds of happiness. They make at the same time a collection among the assistants, and its produce, joined with what the redeeming of the pledges has given, serves to pay brandy and quids for the whole gathering, which usually watches the whole night. In the morning, the dumsa inevitably sends away Chai maraung and everyone goes home.

When everybody has gone away, the family cleans the surroundings of the new house, and keeps quiet from three to five years, the time an ordinary house lasts.

7. *Palace*.—The palace of the lords has the same disposition as the dwelling of the commoners; still as a rule, it is longer and has sometimes a floor in planks. After the 'nla dap, it has one more room, madai dap, where is suspended the altar of the great Nat La nroi

madai, whom the Duni alone honour. In the sanctuary of the spirits, wunthung, there are moreover one or two permanent altars in honour of the forefathers.

The whole village must contribute to the construction of the lordly dwellings: the women each give a fixed number of thatch bundles, and the men, small pieces; moreover they must work all together gratis to prepare and drag the thick stakes which often are, like the dau nu, trees of great dimension.

8. *Decoration.*—Generally no decorations are found in the inside of houses or palaces. It is the front, the part which serves as workshop, the Kachins decorate more or less according to their rank.

Lords and rich people fix on the borders of the roof thick plaits of thatch, pui mun kri, and imitations, always in thatch-grass, of elephant tusks, makui kaung. On the ridge they suspend one or several dumphren, comprising two pieces of bunting, one red, one white, and from ten to twenty small bamboo tubes attached to a wooden disc so as to be able to oscillate and make music when the breeze blows. Poor people satisfy themselves with borders for the extremity of the roof, made with the leaves of a small palm tree, pwi muh. Everybody fixes to the stakes in the centre and keeps with pride the horns of the oxen or buffaloes immolated to the Nats and the antlers of the deer killed in the hunts.

Finally on the great cross-piece one foot broad, ngau kum, which serves as a border for the wooden floor, they chisel several, sometimes numerous, woman breasts. It is one of the rare traces of sculpture found among Kachins. These breasts are for ornament's sake, but also to permit the soul, minla, which they fancy, leaves the body in cases of serious sickness, to be able to recognise the house when she thinks it good to enter once more.

9. *Furniture.*—House furniture is not considerable. Tables, chairs, beds, almirahs are unknown to the

Kachins; they sit and sleep on mats spread on the floor. Yet Duni and rich people have in the rapdau one or two benches without back which serve as arm-chair and bed. Small objects and jewels are generally kept in bamboo tubes, or sometimes in small boxes which they buy from the Burmese or Chinese. They use no lamp, and have in their houses no other light except that of the sun or the fire, which give not much light in an enclosure which is so carefully shut in.

Loft.—The poor keep their rice in a corner of the house in a kaudaum, a large and deep basket. The rich construct near their house a mam dum or loft, a hut from ten to fifteen feet long, and eight or ten broad; it stands five or six feet above ground, and its partitions are besmeared with mud or covered with mats. The lower part is used as a weaving room by the women, when it is too hot outside, and as a cattle shed when it rains.

3. The Village

The villages are often on the slope of hillocks or in pretty low places where there is less wind and water-springs abound. Houses are not built on lines; everyone chooses the spot which suits him, and a sheltered spot is preferred.

The Duwa has ordinarily the best spot in the midst of his subjects. Generally each family has its own house; yet, a married son often remains with his parents; when a younger brother takes a wife, the elder brother goes away and builds a new house.

In the valleys you never find a common house, either for school, religious gatherings or political deliberations. In general, meetings are held by those who want them, in the rapdaw, under the shed, and even in the open air, weather permitting. Kachins do not, as Burmes do, make an enclosure round their villages to protect themselves from evil-doers or wild animals;

but as we already know, on the way in and the way out of every locality, they keep a nam-shang, a sacred spot, where the protecting Nats keep watch and the people gather for public sacrifices.

The villages are not remarkable for their cleanliness; people dig only round their house, the rest is overrun by brush-wood, and up to this they have no idea of water-closets. Moreover, outside, the pigs take up everything, and inside the house, the dog allows nothing to be lost of what the small children often deposit; the parents have even the habit of calling him at once, and of presenting to him the babies in the most favourable posture to allow him to clean them properly.

CHAPTER VI

FIRE

1. Means of Obtaining Fire

As we saw in the last chapter, the Kachins, on taking possession of a new house, draw the new fire from two bamboos, which they rub together. Although this way of obtaining fire be specially on that resorted to occasion, they use it also in ordinary times without being bound to conform to the prescriptions given by the Nat.

They also use a sort of tinder-box, kaiphoi, made of a buffalo-horn and a pin. In the horn they make a small hole, nearly five centimetres long and one centimetre broad; the pin which has at its end an easily inflammable material, is thrust with a quick stroke into that hole, and fire results from instantaneous rubbing. A similar tinder-box is also made with a bamboo to replace the horn.

These proceedings become more and more rare; they are with advantage replaced by Japanese matches which are little by little introduced into the Kachin hill-tracts; besides, in the village there is nearly always fire in some houses where one may go and fetch a burning piece.

2. Hearths

In Kachin houses, there is as a rule one fire place in each principal room : it is in the floor, a cavity of three or four feet on the sides, filled with earth on which they make fire. In order to protect the roof which is generally very low, they hang on it a screen in bamboo, rapting, which also serves as a shelf; in many fire-places underneath the rapting they also put a frame, karap, on which they spread a mat, and where they dry the rice which is to be husked and the eatables they want to preserve.

There is then near the hearth nothing but things which easily catch fire; if you add to this that Kachins keep fire day and night, that they sleep near it or go out without taking the precaution of putting it out, is not surprising that their houses are from time to time reduced to ashes. Then they never put down such mishap to their imprudence, but invariably accuse the Nat Kaumai du kausha du 'n Mai kanu, son of Wunphrang Wan, genius of fire, whom Wumla wa makam possessed of yore. When a fire breaks out all congregate round it, but they can hardly save anything, as the fire has it easy. Then those who have been burned out are supposed to be possessed by the fire spirit, 'n Mai kanu, and even in the night, are not admitted to any house close by. Immediately they make for them a small temporary tent with mats. In the village everything is defiled by the presence of 'n Mai kanu, and in every house they hasten to put out the fires, to pour the water outside and before eating or drinking, they wait till a dumsa has purified everything. The priest arrives as soon as possible on the scene of the fire; he suspends by the beak a small chicken at the end of a stick and shakes it in every direction while calling near him the fire-spirit: "Come," 'n Mai kanu, says he, "accept this little fowl, etc.;" and the Nat, attracted by this present, quickly arrives and stands near the small chicken which they tie to the ground. Henceforth the village is pure: they again light the fire, draw other water and are allowed to cook and eat. But 'n Mai kanu is not the only spirit to receive presents; they offer also some to his son Khumshu Khum Wa; they likewise sacrifice fowls to Mushen, thunder, and his daughter Bungphoi who, as they suppose, have stirred up the fire; they do not forget the domestic Nats either who are angry, they imagine, because their cups have been burnt; afterwards, in the evening they send the fire-spirit away.

3. Exorcism of the Fire-Spirit

A khinjaung takes the bark of a wild plantain tree, and makes with it, three or four feet above ground, a small rut which runs through the whole breadth of the destroyed house; at the lower end they put some fragments saved from the fire, and alongside, on the ground, they sacrifice to 'n Mai kanu the small chicken they had already offered to him; they give him also rice and beer.

The khinjaung then pours in the rut an amount of water which runs towards the burning fragments and puts them out; at the same time the dumsa recites the formulas which send the fire-spirit away : " Oh ! 'n Mai kanu, follow this water, then such a ravine, then such a rivulet, then the Irrawady, and thou shalt finally come to the Lungyi Lungla rocks where thy father Wunphrang Wan is living; at least do not come back, etc." When the priest has finished his exorcisms, the khinjaung puts into a basket an extinguished fragment, and the presents made to 'n Mai kanu, puts everything on his back, pretends to be the genuine fire-spirit and turns four times round the place where the fire blazed forth. The dumsa addressing him says :

—Art thou the fire-Nat?

—Yes, I am 'n Mai kanu.

—Run quick to thy father at the extremities of the earth !

When saying these words, the priest catches a part of the conduit and pierces with it as with a sword the pretended fire-spirit and drives him far away. All the men there present help to drive him away and run after him throwing stones, clods of earth and other projectiles. The khinjaung runs into the forest and on reaching the first rivulet, throws the basket with its contents into the water; the fire-Nat is on his way to the end of the earth and there is nothing more to be afraid of.

The khinjaung, and all those whose have chased the Nat, wash in the rivulet and quietly go back to the village, where they sacrifice still a fowl to the Maraung Nat. Sometimes the khinjaung, instead of carrying the charred fragment in a basket on his back, simply binds it with a rope and drags it to the river; then the projectiles are thrown after it.

4. Origin of the Fire Exorcism

One day Ningkaung Wa wishing to give a manau called all his people and sent them to the river to catch fish; he desired also sharus, guinea-pigs, and it is Jiniu Lawa alone, who was ordered to get some from the forest. Our man goes to hunt, but eats whatever he takes; when coming back he passed near the river in which he urinates, and this poisons all the fishes and makes it impossible for the fishermen to catch even one alive. The fishermen all in a rage rush after the hunter, who runs away and goes and hides in a cavern where he dies.

Ningkaung Wa calls the dumsa Bau dum lawa in order to send the shade of the dead man back to the forefathers. The priest crossing the river sees the bridge crash down under his feet, falls in the water and is carried off by the current; happily he stops in the eel-traps which Waku Tingkung's son had placed in the stream. They pull him out and warm him near a good fire in a hut close by. Very soon the shed is burnt to ashes and the poor dumsa forced to build another. When the work was finished, those who had saved him refused to give any salary at all; then Bau dum lawa gnaws his nails and throws the bits against the little house and at once 'n Mai kanu takes possession of it and burns it once more.

Waku Tingkung's sons, in a fright, want to run off to the village, but 'n Mai kanu is after them, and the in-

habitants who are sore afraid refuse to admit them. They then resign themselves to call back the dumsa, pay him for his work and beseech him to send the fire-spirit away. And the priest, rejoicing in his revenge, exacts a new salary for himself, and a fowl, rice and beer for 'n Mai kanu, whom he packs off with these provisions to the Lungyi Lungla at the end of the earth. The fire-spirit is now gone and the fishermen are received in the village, and since that time, when a fire breaks out, they make the same offerings to 'n Mai kanu and send him back to his father.

PART IV

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

CHAPTER I

BIRTH

1. Delivery and Birth

As we shall have to mention frequently in this article, and later on, the halberd and the sword of ceremonies, ningpha and shatun ri, it may be good to say something of them beforehand. They are old weapons given by the wife's parents, mayu ni, to the husband's parents, dama ni, on the day of the marriage, when they exchange presents. Those halberds and those swords have the power of frightening the evil Nats; consequently, they are used at the birth of a child, in cases of serious sickness, etc. The spirits believe they are the vital nerves, sumri, which Karai Kasang holds in his hands, and seeing they are so solid, they dare not bite them and run away. This is why they call these objects sumri, because they protect; they are not employed for any profane use, and in ordinary times, are kept carefully on the screen, rapting, which hangs above the fire-place of the parents' room.

The child must be born in the parents' very room, dap nu. When the moment is come, neighbours and friends arrive : the men remain in the rapdaw or common room, the women alone assist the suffering mother; there is no professional midwife, any woman may do the needful.

Near the fire-place where the patient is, they plant the sumri, jungde, the halberd and sword of ceremonies joined together, which drive away the bad Nats, Jathuns, Sauns, Phys, which should like to take the baby away or harm it.

To facilitate delivery they make the mother drink hot water in which they have dipped the dry head of an eel, nga lapu baung, or a bit of a dry navel-string.

If the delivery is difficult, they first invoke the domestic Nats and order a dumsa to sacrifice to them whatever they desire; the patient, on her side, beseeches Karai Kasang to catch at once the vital nerves of the child. If in spite of that, delivery remains painful, the dumsa declares to which evil spirit sacrifice is to be made, and they offer whatsoever is asked. If a good result is not yet obtained, they then accuse the Sauns (shades of women, who died in child-bed) of wishing to make the mother die, and drive them off in proper style. They ransack all the corners of the house, brandish swords and knives, make all sorts of noise of which the most efficacious are the least inodorous; they even uncover near the patient to inspire horror to the evil spirits. Inside and outside the house they burn stinking leaves with rice, pepper and all that can produce a bad smell; on all sides they yell, shoot off guns, throw arrows, slash with swords, and keep up that uproar along the principal road leading to the forest up to the nearest torrent, where they believe the Sauns run away.

At last the child comes into the world. As soon as the baby has appeared, the first person near by gives it a name to show the Nats that it is private property; then the mother herself, or by preference a woman, who has many children, cuts the navel-string, that of a girl at two or three fingers, that of a boy, at the length of the knee. When the navel is dry, it is carefully preserved to serve, when occasion offers, to prepare infusions or to make amulets. They then tie a string round the baby's wrists and neck, to make the evil spirits see clearly the child is now private property and that they may not take it away. If it is a girl, they often make it no toilet at all; a boy, they generally wash, but always with cold water, so that later he may not be afraid to enter into the rivers to catch fish.

Whilst they look after the child, the mother is not neglected; they strengthen her with beer or brandy. If

she finds a difficulty to get rid of the lochia, they make her take again of the infusion which they had already given her before her lying-in, and her husband, no one else, helps her by pressing her head with his foot; as a last resource they have recourse to the Nats.

The lochia of the boy are buried near the staircase, at the foot of the central stake, khantep daw; that means that the child must one day become the master of the house; those of the girl are buried near a side-stake, daw kan, because at her marriage, she must leave the family.

2. Rejoicings accompanying the Birth

A child is always received with happiness in Kachin families, rich or poor. When it is coming into the world, a woman puts water into the amphora or tsa to make beer which is called in this circumstance jatawn phye; another cooks rice, jatawn shat, and a man of the most respectable class makes jatawn kaitsu ready, which is a mixture of meat of buffaloes, squirrels, birds, of dry fish, ginger, etc.

During these preparations the women who do the work observe no formalities at all; but the man whilst mixing the several ingredients of the kaitsu expresses any amount of wishes in honour of the new-born child.

If it is a boy :

Galu kaba u ga lau !	Let him grow up !
Baung praung u ga lau.	Let him reach greay hair.
Mayat maya u ga lau.	Let him become father of many children.
Sut gam gam u ga lau.	Let him become rich.
Salang lang u ga lau.	Let him become important.
Dumsa sa u ga lau.	Let him become dumsa, etc.

If it is a girl :

Let her grow up.	Let her not be ill.

May she be able to be given in marriage, and bring to her family buffaloes, gongs, brandy, clothes, etc. !

When all is ready, it is to the most venerable person they first give food and drink; she renews the wishes of happiness for the child. Then old men and old women only partake of the treat; any young man tasting jataun phye or jataun kaissu would have no luck henceforth when hunting or fishing, and any girl would become prone to anger for the remainder of her life.

Absent friends are not forgotten; they are brought a little of everything which has been prepared, and on receiving it, they express the hope that the new-born one may become as old as they themselves, earn much money, etc. To the parents of the mother, mayu ni, they bring a good portion of jataun phye and jataun kaitsa whilst giving them the good news, and invite them to come for the mang khalum feast.

After the family rejoicings, the child must be presented to the household spirits; it is the second or third day after the birth that ceremony takes place, mang khalum.

A dumsa, in the name of the family, sacrifices to those spirits, fowls or pigs and entreats them to kindly protect the new-born child. Relatives and friends, young and old, come to eat and drink and the mayu ni offer to the dama ni new weapons of ceremony.

3. End of the Lying-in

For three days the mother must remain in the house; to go outside would be exposing herself to be taken away by the evil spirits; the father walks about in the neighbourhood to frighten the Nats with his sword.

On the fourth day, early in the morning, the wife accompanied by her husband or some other persons, goes to the water-spring; and to keep the Nats at a distance,

they make the sword and the halberd of ceremonies follow, and plant them in the ground near the water, and the mother protected in this way cleanses both her person and her clothes. When back at home she again puts the old weapons on the rapting and walks outside with her child. Henceforth she is free and takes again to her customary work. Should she remain weak or have no sufficient milk, they would invoke the Nats in her favour.

4. Horoscope of the Child

After the birth of the child, they predict its future. It shall be happy, if born on an even day of the moon; unhappy, if the day is odd. It shall live long, if it came into the world in the morning or on the first days of the moon; it shall be a great man, if it was at noon or on the day of the full moon; it shall die young, if it was in the evening or during the old moon. The child shall be strong and brave if born during day-time; weak and timid, if during night; the one who comes into the world at meal-time, shall always find to eat, etc.

These and other similar ways of forecasting the future are known by the greater number of Kachins and are used by them; some have recourse sometimes to Shan or Chinese sorcerers or to some rare Kachins instructed by the former, who separate days into days of the tiger, the leopard, the elephant, the horse, etc.

Then the new-born shall be powerful, if he is born on the day of the tiger or the leopard; great, on the day of the elephant; fat, on the day of the buffalo; shall always get to eat without working on the days of the dog, the cat, the rat, the hare; shall never have his fill, on the days of the horse, the fowl, the pig, etc.; shall have a numerous posterity, on the day of the goat, etc.

5. Miscarriage

In order to avoid premature delivery, a woman who is with child must abstain from eating porcupine meat,

honey and bee-larves. Her husband is then identified with his wife and allowed to eat only very sparingly of those things. Both, the wife especially, must not try to cross a large river, otherwise the water-spirits would do harm to the child. They must avoid killing snakes, especially boas, which according to the Kachins, are as it were the horses of the Jahtuns; because those evil spirits would, of a certainty, wreak on the fœtus the death of their chargers. Husband and wife are allowed to beat others, but they must allow no one to beat them; otherwise the child would suffer by it, the child would be born with split lips or a split nose, should the parents divide one of the bamboo sticks which they have used as a pot to cook their rice, etc.

They do not fail to observe all these prescriptions in order to protect the fœtus; miscarriage is nevertheless pretty common. It is seldom voluntary, but it seems the cause of it is the heavy work always done by the wife. She does not leave off that heavy work, even when pregnant, through fear that the child's head should develop too much and cause her own dead in childbed.

Premature birth is always attributed to the ill-will of wicked spirits called 'mbia; these latter to increase their number, bite and make the foetus die which, in its turn, becomes a little 'mbia.

At once after a miscarriage, all the young women present go away so as not to be caught by the 'mbia. Only some old men or women busy themselves with the burial of the fœtus; they put it as soon as possible in a bamboo tube which serves as coffin, and go to bury it in the forest at the foot of a large tree, a lamai phun as a rule. They make in the trunk a large incision in order that the sap which leaks out of it may serve as milk for the abortive child.

A dumsa must soon after exorcise the 'mbia; they go to the tomb, or if it is too far away, in its direction, at the

entrance of the forest, and there offer to the fœtus, according to its sex, clothes and ornaments which they always leave on the spot; then a khingjaung offers to the 'mbia a fowl or a pig, which they bury in the ground, and the dumsa sends back those spirits to the country of the Sauns, at Pren Rua's and Yung majan's. The exorcism does not always take place after abortion; through shame the woman sometimes tries to hide her misfortune, but makes it known later when she falls sick, and then they rid her of the 'mbia who possesses her.

The old jaiwa gives to those Nats and their exorcism the following origin. It is Tingkun nang majan or Shawa nang majan who first of all had a miscarriage, and the fœtus became first 'mbia.

From that moment the unhappy wife is sickly and subject to abortion; she asks her cure from all the spirits, but in vain. Karai Kasang at last has pity on her, appears to her on her shoulder and makes her known that it is her fœtus transformed in 'mbia which bites her. "Send it, he adds, with a fowl or a pig to Pren Rua's, and you shall get back your health."

Tingkun nang majan quickly has a priest called who exorcises the 'mbia and at once she gets cured and becomes the mother of numerous children. And from that time the women who have miscarried must in the same way get rid of the 'mbia Nats.

6. Misfortune of Dying in Childbed

Among the Kachins unhappy deliveries are pretty common. For them it is the Sauns which are the only cause of them. In spite of the chase after them as soon as their fatal intervention is perceived, those evil spirits sometimes succeed in killing the mother either during or after delivery, ndang si de. This is one of the greatest calamities that can befall one.

Before the patient breathes her last breath, they hurriedly take out of the house whatever is not strictly her own or does not serve for her personal use, like her husband's belongings, the cups of the Nats, etc. They take this precaution in order that the spirit of the unlucky one may not find a shelter in those objects.

When the poor woman gives up the ghost, the husband, the children and nearly all those who are in the house, run away so that the spirit, minla, of the unhappy woman may not bite them. To render her the last services, there are only some old men or old women, and, to give them courage, they also are bound to pay them for their trouble and give them plenty of grog to drink.

Moreover all the villagers are under the impulse of fear; the whole locality is defiled by the presence of one or of several Sauns which have brought about the unhappy delivery; food, water, etc., everything is unclean and must be purified by a dumsa before they are allowed to use it.

An old priest—a young one would be too much afraid,—comes to the deceased's residence, ties a small chicken at the end of a stick and shakes it in every direction to call the Sauns which he entreats to come and accept this victim. When he has gathered them, he keeps them there allured by the hope of soon devouring the little animal; in this way the village is disinfected and they begin or continue the common work of the house. But they must avoid any servile work, the day is unlucky and must be spent entirely in rest to prevent misfortune, *v. g.* accidents which are sure to happen at work. The only thing allowed is to be busy with the burial of the deceased. They must as soon as possible burn the corpse of the deceased to punish her for having died such a death and to frighten her minla. They cover her eyes with her hair and leaves so that she may see nothing at all, they roll her up in a mat and

take her out of the house, not by the common door, but by an opening made for this purpose in the partition or the wooden floor where she has breathed her last breath. Then they transport her to a deep ravine where not one ventures to pass, they place her in the middle of a great pyre with all the clothes, jewels and things which belonged to her or of which she made use, and burn the whole till there remain only ashes which are not buried. They destroy in this way all the belongings of the unlucky one so that her soul may not later on think of coming to take them back, bite or get possession of them.

Meanwhile, a dumsa and a khinjaung who, for a remuneration, have followed up to the ravine, offer to the minla of the deceased the small chicken, to which they sometimes add a pig or a dog, which they do not eat, but which they leave or bury on the spot; then the dumsa packs off the minla to the 'ndang ka, to Pren Rua's and Yung majan, first Sauns, and there it becomes Saun and slave of the Sauns.

Before going away the dumsa sows burnt shamien seeds, a creeper, plants in the ground the rice-stamper used by the deceased to husk rice, and finishes the exorcism by cursing and mocking the new Saun: "Before returning to us, wait till this seed sprout, this rice-pestle flower, till ferns bring forth fruit and cocks lay eggs! etc." On re-entering the village, on the road, a small chicken is offered to the maraung Nat.

As a rule they destroy the house, and the materials can only serve to build small huts in the fields or to make fire; even the very spot is abandoned. The husband and the children find a shelter only with near relatives, father or brother; their friends, through fear of the Sauns, dare not receive them but they are generally helped by everybody when putting up a temporary hut. Still, those who intend redeeming the deceased's minla to send it back to the land of the forefathers, may keep the house. In this case, they demolish only the room where the poor woman

died, they make a quite new one and a dumsa purifies the whole house by reciting special formulas and sprinkling water over it with a maiding leaf.

The jewels too are at times spared and given to poor old women who are no longer afraid of Sauns. The dumsa, if old, sometimes accepts them as wages for his work; but then, as soon as he is in his own house, his first care is to put them on the hen-roost. If the fowls remain calm, it is a good sign, he can keep them without fear; but if they become restless, it is a sign that the spirit of the deceased has taken a liking for these objects, and through fear, the dumsa returns them. A young dumsa or other young people never accept them, even as presents. The old men or the old women, who take them can never sell them to Kachins who know where they come from; they can get rid of them only among Shans or Chinese who are not afraid of the minla.

During this kind of burial wails and laments have a special supplement: "O woman, mother, sister, etc., they cry, close carefully behind your back the door of the road you have taken; may all of us never follow you, but take the road which leads to the katsan ka; deign the forefathers buy your freedom and take you to their homes!

In this last invocation we see that Kachins believe the ancestors are able to free the nimla of women who died in child-bed. In this world, families which have the means also buy off their freedom. Then they call a dumsa who, in their name, addresses the Sauns and with them barters the deceased's spirit against pigs or buffaloes which are at once immolated to them. Then the minla is sent to the ancestors by the common road and with the burial ceremonies used for persons who die a natural death.

When the child dies with its mother, they burn them both together; if it dies before or after, they give it an ordinary burial. If it survives, its father generally finds

a woman who adopts and nurses it; but if nobody is willing to accept it, and the father unable to bring it up, it is in that case, although alive, burnt with its mother: this case is exceedingly rare.

From this we see that Kachins are in great fear of the minla of women who have died in this way; they believe it becomes a Saun. Those Nats, according to them, often visit this world: the males to lay hold of the women; the females to bite men. Sometimes they hear them or think they hear them; the great ones call out: prit prit, prau prau, and the small ones groan: nye nye. Those plaintive sounds ordinarily come out of the ravines where the cremations have taken place, or from near the houses where a child comes into the world. They also believe that Sauns obsess a kind of night bird pauk pan wu, or pye ngan wu, which during night frightens people with its mournful singing. In all these cases they shout and fire off muskets to drive those spooks far away.

7. Means of having Children

Kachins earnestly desire to have children: boys to continue and propagate the family, girls to draw profit from them especially at their marriage; therefore it is a great misfortune for a woman to be barren. To obtain fecundity for her, they first make sacrifices to the domestic Nats, then to the spirits which a sorcerer designates. If the Kachin gods do not produce the desired effect; they then have recourse to a Chinese divinity called Chautu.

The dumsas don't know how to invoke Chautu and know nothing about that spirit. It is a Chinaman or a Kachin who has learned about that divinity from Chinese, who officiates as priest or sara, as he is styled. According to the master whom I have consulted, Chautu lives in China and is a great spirit which can procure children and restore health to the sick.

When they have recourse to this divinity, they must make a foot-bridge over some streamlet near by (makhrai khrai de). Then it is feast day for the whole village; between ten and eleven, with music in front and provisions for the day, they go to the appointed place. There, whilst some amuse themselves, others cut down one or two trees, make them nearly square, and place one alongside the other so as to reach both sides of the rivulet. Then, at both extremities to the right and the left they plant a bamboo, one or two metres long, which they adorn with red, white, blue, yellow paper; when the little bridge is finished, the sara stands on one side, and on the ground offers to Chautu fowls or pigs with rice, beer, brandy and calls on it in this way: "Come, Chautu, come, accept these offerings and give children to those who have called us here together." And, to secure the good-will of the Jahtun, the master of the spot also offers a fowl in honour of the Jahtun.

Then a matron, mother of a numerous family, takes the barren woman, and slowly and solemnly leads her over the bridge; the husband follows, taking by the hand a small child to make Chautu see better the object of his desires; the sara accompanies and expresses the hope that the parents who have till now been childless may have a numerous posterity; all come behind and express the same wishes. When this ceremony is over, they cook and eat the meat of the victims, and empty many a cup of beer and brandy; in the evening they return to the village in high spirits, because Chautu will not delay hearing favourably the wishes they just now have so ardently given expression to.

In the meanwhile, the husband and wife temporarily adopt the first person, who, in coming back to the village, first passes over the new footh-bridge and make her a present of a cloth or something else; and according as the adopted one is a man or a woman, the first born child shall be a boy or a girl.

8. Adoption

In spite of all the means which parents use to have children, it sometimes happens that their wishes are not realised, or that all their children die young, or that they have only girls. The husband then takes a second wife or has recourse to adoption.

In the latter case, he asks one of his brothers or a blood relation, who has many children, to give him a boy, by preference one of from 8 to 15 years, to help him in his work, to assist him in his old age, and naturally to inherit his modest property. Such an arrangement is pretty frequent; Kachins willingly give one of their children to one of their relatives; but outside the family they part with him only exceedingly seldom, and even the most miserable never sell them to strangers.

When they do not find among their relatives the child they look for, they buy the first little one who is offered for sale and bring him up as their son; many young Shans and especially Chinese have in this way become Kachins and some are, to my knowledge, now heads of good families.

Before the English occupation there was often a chance of buying children; were sold those whom they could steal elsewhere, war-prisoners not ransomed, sons of insolvent debtors, etc. Nowadays, at least on English Territory, this traffic has disappeared. For that reason, some Kachins who can no longer use money or violence to procure a child, try to reach their end by persuasion; they shelter at Bhamo or elsewhere young Chinese who look out for a living, and do their best, but without much success, to acclimatise them in their own house and make them their sons.

A feast commonly accompanies adoption; it is postponed if they have not the means to give it at once, they then give the adopted child a Kachin name and the new comer takes the family name of his new rela-

tives; a dumsa offers him to the domestic Nats, as they do when offering the new-born children to the Mau khalum.

9. Means of avoiding Children

Kachins know, or pretend to know, a medicine which renders barren men and women and especially causes abortion among women. It is a kind of musk, sheshang, which Chinese sell very dear, so dear that very few Kachins are able to procure some. They ascribe to it, on the other hand, surprising effects which deter them from possessing some of it. According to them the horse which carries the musk, the man who sells it are made impotent, the fruits of the trees under which they bring it, at once fall from the branches; fowls' eggs immediately get spoiled in the houses where it is taken to. This medicine, although well known, is consequently not often used. They have nevertheless asserted to me that some libertines, in order to hinder the effects of their misconduct, have a bit of that musk in their wallet, and that others, with brandy, take care to give an infusion of it to their accomplice. They have likewise spoken to me about a woman, who they said, had made use of it, and with success, in order to limit the number of her children.

It is especially in this latter case, when Kachin mothers have already a numerous family, they would willingly use medicine to prevent conception and remain more fit to perform their numerous occupations. Several think they succeed if they eat of the head or the tail of a porcupine, but the desired effect is long in coming.

CHAPTER II

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

1. Childhood

Parents are very fond of their children, and it is with pleasure they see a new one come, even twins. Infanticide is very rare. Yet it sometimes happens that at the birth of an illegitimate child, the mother, to avoid dishonour, strangles it and buries it secretly in the forest. The belief that the soul of a little one so killed becomes Lasa Nat, and shall not fail later on to bite and perhaps even to make the guilty woman perish, helps to make those unhappy cases very rare, and such cases, on the other hand, cause general disapproval and indignation.

As to legitimate children, as well as to the greater number of those who are not, parents rear them the best way possible, and even the most needy do not think of getting rid of them by murder or for profit. Kachins, nevertheless, do not or cannot take care of their children; nearly at once after birth, the mother takes a strip of linen, or one of her petticoats, labu, and hangs her new-born child astride on her back, and in this way goes about her ordinary work at home or even in the fields. Baby is often given to its little brothers or sisters who know little about watching it and often leave it alone to run to their games.

There is no special food medicine for sick children and the consequence is that a considerable number of them die when very young. Kachin mothers do not wean their children, taking the term in its strict sense; unless a younger brother comes to take their place, children go on sucking as long as their mother has some milk left, or up to the time when they feel ashamed to continue.

Young girls help their parents very soon; they husk rice, pick up firewood, fetch water, etc. Boys are less

active and follow more their whims. The mother has no authority over them; the father cares little for their formation; when they have done some mischief and are threatened with a pretty strong trashing, they try to run away, go and hide in a house close by and return only when the storm has blown over. As they have no school at all to go to, they pass a great deal of their time amusing themselves or running after birds in the forest. They are invariably present at every feast or important sacrifice, although the good morsels are not destined for them; old people always find a thousand reasons to deprive the young of what they themselves wish to eat. Well! to mention only a fowl, they will tell the youngsters: the head would give you a head-ache; the wings would make you clumsy for plaiting mats or baskets; the legs would shrivel your hands; the back would give you pain in the waist; the breast-bone would prevent you sharpening your sword; the guts would contract too much the seams of your clothes; the gizzard, the heart and the liver would make you afraid like chickens, etc. The children, although not believing these many reasons over much, resign themselves in the hope of acting likewise later on in their turn.

2. Feast of Youth or Shat chyam chyam poi

Circumcision is unknown, as well as any kindred operation; at the time of puberty there is no ceremony or special feast either; but in some places every four or five years the young people organise a public rejoicing. It is rather the newly married or those about to be married, who organise the feast, in order to have a jolly day, to interchange good wishes and get some credit out of it.

They prepare this rejoicing one or two months beforehand; the young men club together and buy fans, brandy, belts for women, tobacco, shaji, lime, quid-boxes,

etc.; the young girls weave wallets, belts for men, make fringes, prepare beer, gather eggs, dry fish, salt, pepper, etc.

On the appointed day, after the morning meal, all the young boys and girls, with their jewels on and preceded by the band, go to the spot appointed for the grand occasion. It is generally a fine site, one or two miles away in the forest; the spot is at once cleansed and shaded with any amount of branches of trees planted in the ground.

Those who have been invited come little by little; the band goes to meet the du-ni and other big wigs, offers them refreshments and leads them to take their seat in the shade of the branches. They distribute to all the guests a mixture of pepper and salt and many cups of beer and brandy. The old people make several groups, chew tobacco, drink and chat and admire the fine young people, who execute many dances to delight them. At the head is the drum followed by the cymbals and tom-toms; then come, in order, the young men, great and small, and the young girls accompanied by smaller ones. All, one behind the other, form into a circle and follow the slow and timid movements of the first. These dances are always gone through at the sound of instruments, without singing, without special costume and without the dancers holding one another; but nearly every one has a fan or leaves in his hand which he shakes and keeps time with.

Towards one or two o'clock the dance stops and the young people try to recover the expenses of the day. For that, the young men accost, one after the other, first the du-ni and the salang-ni, then the old men and the old women, and turn round them, beating their drums and clanging their cymbals, till they give their small contribution. Those who have no coin give either some opium, some eggs or some other things of the kind. The

damsels on their side use another means to obtain the same end: gracefully they offer presents, like wallets, belts, etc., to those of whom they hope to receive at least some thing equivalent.

At three or four o'clock they prepare the complément of the feast: they spread on mats all the provisions of rice, eggs, fish, meat, etc., which they have brought; some young men and damsels tuck up their sleeves and with their hands mix and knead the whole heap, shat chyam chyam de, whence the name of the feast. They then make portions packed in leaves which they distribute with the beer or brandy that may be left.

After the meal, as a memorial of the feast, at the four corners of the place, they put at the top of long bamboos two red streamers, bought by the young men, and two white ones, woven by the girls. At the end, the organisers exchange among themselves presents: the young men offer to the damsels belts, quid-boxes, fans, etc., the latter give them fringes, wallets, etc.

They finally go away so as to reach the village at nightfall; a good many feel heavy in the head, but all hearts are full of joy. Of course, a dumsa sacrifices on the way a fowl to Chai Maraung that a good night may follow such a beautiful day.

The shat chyam chyam de is one of the feasts in which Kachins seem to make the Nats intervene the least, but in which they show the most their liking for liquor.

According to the old bard, this rejoicing would have had its origin in the Ka-ang ka, and it would be Mr. Kanu Kanang Shabrang and Miss Shingra Kaitang who the first would have given it to their village.

CHAPTER III

NAMES AND DEGREES OF RELATIONSHIP

1. Forenames and Surnames

Kachins have first to designate children by common names which I call forenames to avoid confusion.

These forenames are the same for all the families and correspond to the rank of birth determined by the mother only. Therefore they are called in Kachin: mying, name, madung, base, root, radical or fundamental names.

The name of

the 1st boy of a woman is Kam
2nd ,, ,, ,, Naw, or Naung
3rd ,, ,, ,, La
4th ,, ,, ,, Tu
5th ,, ,, ,, Tang
6th ,, ,, ,, Yaw or Yaung
7th ,, ,, ,, Kha
8th ,, ,, ,, Roi
9th ,, ,, ,, Khying.

The name of

the 1st girl is Kaw
2nd ,, ,, Lu
3rd ,, ,, Roi
4th ,, ,, Thu
5th ,, ,, Kai
6th ,, ,, Kha
7th ,, ,, Pri
8th ,, ,, Yun
9th ,, ,, Khying.

Lordly families put before the forename of men the title sau or zau, prince; and before that of women nang, princess; *v. g.*

Sau Kam, Nang Kaw, etc.

Common people use prefixes ma, or 'n for both Sexes, *v. g.*

Ma Kam or 'n Kam
Ma Kaw or 'n Kaw.

Most of the tribes use especially the particle ma; Kauris keep ma for slaves and use 'n for any free person, *i.e.*, for nearly everybody.

The forenames 'n Kam, 'n Kaw, etc., seem, at least among Kauris, to contain the idea of filiation, and are in general used only by the father, the mother, the grandparents and the paternal uncles; another person using them, would sometimes cause pain to the child, who then would answer: "But I am not your child, nor am I your slave!" I am told this peculiarity does not exist elsewhere, where anyone may use the forenames ma Kam, ma Kaw, etc.

Among the Kauris, to the forename of the child the parents always add for friends and strangers a surname, which also corresponds to the rank of birth, but often varies according to the families. This also frequently obtains in the other clans, where, in order to avoid the multiplicity of the same appellations, they likewise have a series of surnames, synonymous with the forenames.

So, *Sau Kam* may be called: Tau Seng, Sau Bong, Sau Li, Seng Li, Sau Ri, Sau Long, etc.

Nang Kaw may become: Nang Seng, Nang Koi, Ja Mau, Nang Mai, Nang Nan, etc.

'n Kam—Ka Mian, Kam Pyung, Po Thin, Sin Yaung, Sum Thoi, Yung, Kaw Kam, Chai Yung, Kam Phang, Kam Thoi, etc.

'n Kaw—Kau Lum, Kaw Yaung, Kaw Naw, Cha Ngai, Kaw Nau, Kaw Phang, Maw Na, etc.

These surnames are called mying makhaun, names of praise. In fact some imply praise or flattery;

seng means precious stone; mai, good; mau, marvel; thoi, brilliant.

Others, like ma Shaung, show that one is the first child of the family, shaung, before. Kam Phang, on the contrary, shows that he has sisters before him, phang, after; Kaw Phang, that she has a brother older than herself. Some of them seem to have no meaning at all.

Out of the surnames which a child may get, the family give it the one she prefers, avoiding, however, to call it exactly like the father or the mother, as this would bring misfortune to the child and perhaps cause its death.

They may call it after the grandfather or the grandmother, who being already old or dead, have no longer to fear any bad fortune. When the first children are dead or sickly they conclude from this that the ordinary forenames are not favourable to the family and replace them, in lordly families as well as in those of the common people, without minding any longer sex or rank of birth, by names which designate strangers. They then call the new baby Mi-wa, Chinese; or Mien, Burmese; Sham, Shan; Palong, Palong, neighbouring race; Kala, stranger, Mayam, slave; etc.

It is a trick to deceive the Nats who have caused the death of the former children or are tormenting them now and to make them believe that the last comer is not Kachin; the spirits, knowing well that they receive no offerings and no sacrifices from Chinese and other nations, will not take the trouble of biting the baby, and the child shall live and grow up to the great joy of the parents.

If in the first days of its existence, the child cries too much, they fancy it does not like the surname which was first given to it. They then call in a priest who finds a more agreeable corresponding term, and calls the baby by that new name. Naturally they announce the event to the domestic Nats and offer them

presents at the same time. That changing of name generally takes place during the month which follows the birth; they do not later on renew it, although the baby continues moaning or falls sick; henceforth they have recourse to the Nats to calm it or cure it. This name which Kachins receive in the beginning, they do not change later, on the occasion of puberty or marriage; they keep it the whole of their life. It is by this name they are generally called; they only add the family name when it is necessary to specify them. Yet those who are du, lord, salang, influential man, who assist the lord, jaiwa, archpriest and bard, dumsa, priest, myithoi, prophet, khing jaung, butcher, etc., are often called by their title followed by the word wa, person, or by their forename; *v. g.* du wa, ralang wa, dumsa kam, etc.

Others, here like elsewhere, get sometimes nicknames, Mying khaut, as Phulam, great runner, Lashaut, braggart, etc., which frequently pass to their posterity.

But when Kachins talk among themselves they often call themselves by the term of relationship which unites them, *v. g.*, father, mother, brother, brother-in-law, etc., names which are more respectful or more affectionate.

2. Family Names

Each tribe comprises several clans, which, in their turn, are composed of many families. All those of the same blood are of the same family and have the same name. All the families preserve something like a family-tree or a genealogical legend, labau, and a good many, as well as the lords, do know or pretend to know their ascendancy up to the origin of the world. The common people, nevertheless, as a rule, can name only some immediate ancestors. It is the jaiwas, bards, who possess in their memory their own genealogy and that of others, and make it known when needful. They also make

known the origin of the family names : so in Kuthung village, you have Kawlu, Nangsing, Maran, Chyamma, etc.

The Kawlu owe their origin to one of their first ancestors, who daily went to the fields to see an u kaw, a big bird with a long beak; he succeeded in catching it and feeding it in his house; his neighbours surnamed him kaw lu (lu, to possess), the family name of his descendants.

The Nangsing and the Maran are so called because one of the ascendants of the first had built his house near a tree called Nangsing, and an ancestor of the second dwelt in a cave called Maran.

The Chyamma owe their name to the Chinese, who gave them the surname of Chyamkya, and which the Kachins have changed into Chyamma, which is more easily pronounced. It is true that some family names are borrowed from animals or plants. But the Kachins who have names either of animals or trees have no veneration for those animals or trees and especially do not believe they descend from them. When occasion offers they kill and eat the first, cut down or burn the second. Therefore there seems to be here in our days no trace or remains of totemism.

Family names are transmitted from father to son; women at marriage and adopted children take the name of their new relationship.

3. Religious Names

The spirits do not recognise ordinary names, therefore, every Kachin has a religious name which the dumsa uses when invoking the Nats. Religious names correspond to the forenames, and like them, show the rank of birth. They put before them a different title, according as one is man or woman, lord or commoner.

Among the Kauris, the religious names of a princess's children are as follows :—

The 1st boy,	Sau Kam	is called	Jali Rekong
,, 2nd ,,	Maung	,,	Jali Ning laung
,, 3rd ,,	La	,,	Jali Latat
,, 4th ,,	Tu	,,	Jali Tu Shang
,, 5th ,,	Tang	,,	Jali Tang neng
,, 6th ,,	Yaung	,,	Jali Yaung tung
,, 7th ,,	Kha	,,	Jali Kha tung
,, 8th ,,	Roi	,,	Jali Sau roi
,, 9th ,,	Khying	,,	Jali Khying nang.
The 1st girl,	Nang Kaw	is called	Jatsen Nang koi
,, 2nd ,,	Nang Lu	,,	Jatsen Jaban
,, 3rd ,,	Nang Roi	,,	Jatsen Jathoi
,, 4th ,,	Nang Thu	,,	Jatsen Nang tang
,, 5th ,,	Nang Kai	,,	Jatsen Nang Kai
,, 6th ,,	Nang Kha	,,	Jatsen Nang Kha
,, 7th ,,	Nang Pri	,,	Jatsen Nang Pri
,, 8th ,,	Nang Yun	,,	Jatsen Nang Yun
,, 9th ,,	Nang Khyir	,,	Jatsen Nang Khyin.

For common people

Kam's	religious name	is	Mali Kam thoi.
Naung's	,,	,,	Mali Ning krong.
La's	,,	,,	Mali La thoi
Tu's	,,	,,	Mali Tu kong
Tang's	,,	,,	Mali Tang nau
Yaung's	,,	,,	Mali Yaung tang
Kha's	,,	,,	Mali Kha tang
Toi's	,,	,,	Mali Toi shang
Khying's	,,	,,	Mali Khying nang

And for women

Kaw	becomes	Katsen Kaw lum
Lu	,,	Katsen La nau
Roi	,,	Katsen Thoi roi
Thu	,,	Katsen Thu nau

Kai becomes Katsen Kai tung
Kha ,, Katsen Khanau
Pri ,, Katsen Pri tang
Yun ,, Katsen Yun tang
Khying ,, Katsen Khying tang

Religious names vary according to the tribes; so, among the Lathaung ni. Sau Kam is called Phung-krang sau kam; Nang Kaw is called Phungsing nang kaw.

4. Names of the Principal Degrees

Relationship is very extended: all the members of a group of families of the same name or blood consider themselves brothers and sisters, and consider as brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law all the persons of the families with which, according to custom, they may unite themselves by marriage.

An alliance which would have its origin in mingling or drinking blood is unknown.

The different degrees of relationship carry with them no special privileges, nor are they subject to particular precepts, as to avoid speaking to each other, to name each other, to touch one another, etc.

First Degree—Kauri Names of the Principal terms of Relationship arising from Birth

Ancestors in general, ji woi ni
Paternal ancestors, jini
Maternal ancestors, woi ni
Paternal grandfather, ji
Maternal grandfather, khai ji.
Paternal grandmother, woi
Maternal grandmother, kha woi.

Father, wa
Mother, nu
Child in general, sha
Boy, shadangsha
Girl, shayisha
Grandson or granddaughter, shu
Paternal uncle, wa,
Paternal aunt, moi

According as the uncle or the aunt is older or younger than his father, the nephew adds to the terms wa and moi, a designation which makes known also the rank of birth and corresponds to the forename, *v. g.*

Uncle, kam, is called wa di Aunt, kaw, is called moi ba
,, naung ,, wa lat ,, lu ,, moi lat
,, la ,, wa doi ,, roi ,, moi doi
,, thu ,, moi dang ,, thu ,, moi dang
The youngest ,, wa dim. The youngest moi dim
Maternal uncle in general, tsa, Maternal aunt, nu.

Maternal uncle, kam, is called tsa ba
,, ,, naung ,, tsa lat
,, ,, la ,, tsa doi
,, ,, tu ,, tsa dang
The youngest ,, tsa dim.

Maternal aunt, kaw, is called nu tung
,, ,, lu ,, nu lat
,, ,, roi ,, nu doi
,, ,, thu ,, nu dang
The youngest ,, nu dim.

Brothers and sisters in general, phu nau ni

Brother, older than oneself, phu; sister, older, na
Brother, younger than oneself, nau; sister, younger, nau

Eldest brother, kam, is called phu or phu ba
Elder ,, naung ,, phu gyi
,, ,, la ,, phu doi
Younger ,, naung ,, nau'n naung
,, ,, la ,, nau'n la.

Eldest sister, kaw, is called na ba or ba
Elder ,, lu ,, na lat
,, ,, roi ,, na doi
Younger ,, lu ,, nau'n lu
,, ,, roi ,, nau'n roi

Brother of a woman and not of a man, yung; sister of a man, jan.

Both these terms are somewhat honorific. The first, yung, is used by a woman when speaking of her brothers or when she is spoken to about her brothers. The second, jan, by a man, when there is question of his sisters.

The words phu, nau, na, etc., have not this peculiarity and are indifferently used by both sexes.

A man calls his nephews and nieces issued from brothers, shaik, sisters, khri.

A man calls his nephews and nieces of brothers, nam, of sisters, sha.

A man calls his first cousins, sons of paternal uncle, phu or nau, his female first cousins of paternal uncle, na or nau, his cousins of paternal aunt, khau, his female cousins of paternal aunt, khri, his cousins of maternal uncle, khau, his female cousins of maternal uncle, rat, if older; nam, if younger.

His cousins of maternal aunt, phu or nau, his female cousins of maternal aunt, na or nau.

A woman calls her cousins of paternal uncle, phu or nau, her female cousins of paternal uncle, na or nau;

her cousins of paternal aunt, khu, if older; rat, if younger; her female cousins of paternal aunt, ning; her cousins of paternal uncle, khau; her female cousins of maternal uncle, rat; her cousins of maternal aunt, phu or nau; her female cousins of maternal aunt, na or nau.

Second Degree—Kauri Names of the Principal Degrees of Relationship

arising from marriage

The family of the wife is mayu, the family of the husband; dama.

The wife calls her husband, madu wa, master, or ngai sha kawa, my son's father; her father-in-law, ku, her mother-in-law, moi; her brothers-in-law older than her husband, ku,(1) her brothers-in-law younger than her husband, rat, her sisters-in-law, ning.

The father of the wife calls his son-in-law khri; the father of the son-in-law, khau; the mother of his son-in-law, na or nau; the brothers and sisters of his son-in-law, khri.

The husband calls his wife madu jan, mistress, or ngai jan, my wife, or ngai sha kanu, mother of my children; his father-in-law, tsa; his mother-in-law, ni; his brothers-in-law, khau; the wives of his brother-in-law, ni; his sisters-in-law, rat, if older than his wife, and nam, if younger; the husbands of his sisters-in-law, phu or nau.

The father of the husband calls his daughter-in-law, nam; the father of his daughter-in-law, khau; the mother of his daughter-in-law, ni; the brothers and sisters of his daughter-in-law, nam.

The mother of the husband calls her daughter-in-law, nam; the father of her daughter-in-law, phu or nau;

(1) The wife calls the husbands of her sister-in-law khri and the wives of her brother-in-law na or nau.

the mother of his daughter-in-law, ning; the brothers and sisters of her daughter-in-law, nam.

For all the terms of relationship I have given only the simple or primitive name used only by the person who speaks of his or her people, *v. g.* my father, ngai wa, ngai—I or mine; my mother, ngai nu; my son, ngai sha; my daughter-in-law, ngai nam, etc.

When speaking to some one about their relations they put before the name of that relation the prefix ning, which is perhaps a corruption of, nang, meaning "thou" or "thine;" *v. g.* thy father, ning wa; thy mother, ning nu; thy son, ning sha, etc.

Finally when there is question of the relationship of some one else, they add to the terms of relationship the prefix ka, *v. g.* his father, shi ka wa, shi—he or his; his mother, shi ka nu; his son, ka sha, etc.

But this rule does not seem to be absolute; I have sometimes heard ngai kawa, for my father; yet never ngai ning wa, or shi ning wa, or shi wa.

PART V

MARRIAGE

CHAPTER I

MARRIAGE

1. Kachin Marriage Groups

In all that concerns marriage, Kachins are divided into two groups: mayu ni and dama ni. Mayu ni are the tribe or the tribes which furnish women; dama ni, those where husbands are found.

A man speaking of his parentage-in-law and of all those who belong to the same family or tribe, calls them his mayu ni; on the contrary, the parents of the wife speaking of their son-in-law and of all those of his tribe, call them their dama ni. The names dama ni and mayu ni have thus a restricted and a general meaning. In their restricted meaning, they designate only the two families, two members of which join by marriage; in their general meaning, they comprise all the families or tribes which are allowed to intermarry.

A tribe or family which is dama with regard to the mayu ni, tribe which gives it women, is its dama tribe. So, in the village of Matau, there are three principal families or branches: Chyamma ni, Latsin ni and Kawlu ni. The first takes a wife from the second, the second from the third and the third from the first:

Chyamma ni are dama ni of Latsin ni, who are dama ni of Kawlu ni, who are dama ni of Chyamma ni.

As also Latsin ni are mayu ni of Chyamma ni, who are mayu ni of Kawlu ni, who are mayu ni of Latsin ni.

According to this arrangement, women remain only one generation in the same family; they turn so to speak from one tribe to another, whilst husbands remain stationary. So in the foregoing example, latsin damsels become chyamma ladies, whose daughters become kawlu ladies, whose daughters become latsin ladies, etc.

From this also follows that the nearest relative a young man can marry is only a cousin, daughter of a maternal uncle. In fact, it is not possible for him to take of the cousins, the daughter of a paternal uncle or of a maternal aunt, because they are in the tribe and the group of tribes to which he himself belongs. In his mayu tribe, he can meet only cousins issued of maternal uncles, and according to custom, it is good, but not obligatory, that his choice fall on one of them.

The Jaiwa ni trace this classification of mayu and dama up to the sons of Washet wa makam, who were the chiefs of the five Kachin tribes. Then it was decided that—

Marip ni shall be dama ni of Maran ni
Maran ni ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Nkhum ni
Nkhum ni ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Laphai ni
Laphai ni ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Lathong ni
Lathong ni ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Marip ni

This arrangement was somewhat modified later on; in the beginning Du ni had as mayu ni only one tribe, now they have generally two. For example: Nkhum ni have as Mayu ni the Laphai ni and the Marip ni; the Laphai ni have as Mayu ni the Lathong ni and the Maran ni; the Lathong ni have as Mayu ni the Marip ni and the Nkhum ni.

The Tarat ni are always allowed to take a wife according to the ancient classification; but for them, nowadays, the same tribe is subdivided into several families ranking as mayu ni and dama ni.

Custom requires that the dama ni, whether du ni or tarat ni, choose for themselves a companion among their respective mayu ni; not to conform oneself to this custom were, they say, to cover oneself with shame and to expose oneself to remain without posterity. However, when it happens that the first wife has no children, or dies young, or becomes mad, they sometimes take a

new wife in a family with which they had up to that time no connection and which they add in that way to the number of their mayu ni.

It also sometimes happens that a poor lord takes a wife of the common people, or that a rich commoner marries a princess.

Custom does not allow two brothers to marry two sisters; but a widower may take a sister of his deceased wife, likewise a widow may become the wife of one of her brothers-in-law, and in some rare cases, the wife of a child whom her defunct husband has had of a first bed.

The wife enters into the family of her husband and adopts his name and his domestic Nats without bringing in any of her relatives. Nevertheless, in some exceedingly rare circumstances, when the wife's parents have no male child, nor anybody else to help them or take care of them, the husband establishes himself in their house; in this case, he does not change his family name, and he takes along with him some of his household spirits, or brings them in later on when he thinks he is a victim of their vexations.

2. Provisional Union

Boys and girls court at an early age; there is, besides, in each house a special room, nla dap, where youth can gather without being too much troubled by the parents.

It were very shameful and very serious if a young man had intercourse with a girl of his own family or of his *dama* tribe, even were she only a distant relative of his. According to the old people, those cases are very rare and always severely punished, because such a union, as we already know, can never become legitimate.

But a dama boy may without dishonour, if not without danger, have intercourse with a mayu girl; there is in this case sometimes something like a trial-marriage;

the young man offers money or jewels to the damsel he wants to win; the latter accepts if the lover pleases her, and in her turn makes him a present of a wallet, fringes, etc.

They then engage themselves for a year or two or only for the time they shall agree together, and they have rendezvous in the nla dap, the lofts, the huts in the fields, etc. They separate the day on which they do not suit each other any longer, or when the parents who have come to know about it scold them too much.

This laxity of morals among young people does nevertheless not degenerate into general shameless profligacy; a Kachin girl does not, as a rule, give herself up to the first comer, and, when she gives herself to a lover, she is pretty faithful to him. Every young man also knows the punishment he exposes himself to when he seduces a girl. The parents of the latter may detect him, and after a sound beating, deprive him of his wallet, his sword and his turban. It is more serious if he has made his accomplice a mother; he then must take her into his own house for the delivery and make to the Nats all the sacrifices which are necessary for a happy delivery; afterwards, he or his parents are obliged to pay to the girl's family nearly the price of a wife of her rank. The boy may afterwards marry or send away his sweetheart according to the arrangement the parents make among themselves; although the latter should decide separation, the two lovers do not always put it into practice.

If they continue agreeing together and nothing special is opposed to their definitive union, they at last get the consent of their families and then celebrate a marriage in due form; sometimes they make no ceremony at all and little by little are looked upon as lawfully united.

When there is separation, the young man or rather his parents find a wife or a daughter-in-law almost as easily as in ordinary cases.

The daughter, if she is not a mother, is later on asked for marriage just like a virgin; but, if she has one or more children, she seldom finds a good match; moreover her parents who have already received a heavy compensation for her degradation, are less exacting for the sale price. She also easily becomes the wife of a poor lad or of a widower, or the second wife of a man who has no children by his first.

3. Age at which Kachins Marry

Men and women marry as a rule between ten and twenty years according to circumstances.

Families, which are somewhat well-to-do, pay at an early age for a bride for their son. They fear that others may take the girl they wish to have, and sometimes they even ask for her before she is ten years old. They then perform the ordinary marriage ceremonies, but the young wife does remain with her parents till a convenient age.

The poor are less in a hurry to settle their children; it is seldom nevertheless they let their boys reach twenty before giving them a companion, and they nearly always have a chance to marry their daughters about their fifteenth or eighteenth year.

4. Preliminaries of Marriage

It is the parents, more often the father alone, who busy themselves with the future of their children. Every marriage takes more or less the form of a sale in which the price of the wife varies according to her rank. For an ordinary girl are paid as a rule two buffaloes, two gongs, two pajung (a long piece of silk serving as trousers for men), several katsi (a piece of ordinary linen for

the same use as the foregoing), a paishe (a silken vest for men), and four or five jugs of grog, laukhry tham mali.

A princess is valued three or four times more, the contract including some special articles such as an elephant tusk, makhuyi kaung, a slave, mayam, a gun, two pounds of silver, etc. If they ask the younger before the elder sister, they must in addition give a buffalo to compensate the latter.

Therefore, when a father thinks of marrying one of his sons, his first preoccupation is to procure the things without which any young girl would be refused to him; he then has recourse to his nearest relatives who help him, one with a gong, another with a dress, etc.

When he has nearly all the required articles, he consults a sorcerer to know whether the time has come to look out for a spouse for his child. When the answer is favourable, he casts his eyes among his mayu ni on a girl of a condition equal to that of his boy, and minutely studies her genealogy to see if there is no hereditary stain such as a short life, sorcery, etc.

If he discovers nothing which goes against the contemplated union, he sends one of his intimate friends to take on the sly, japhan la de, some thread, tobacco or other things belonging to the person in question. These objects are brought to a dumsa who, after beating them with the shaman, divining bamboo, predicts the future of that girl. According to whether she shall be child-bearing or barren, faithful or unfaithful, long-lived or short-lived, they decide to ask her or to look out for another. According to my old jaiwa, two married people of the same character are not long happy : one of them is carried off by a premature death; but Karai Kasang, the supreme being, often manages for a good-natured man to marry a woman of a difficult character, or *vice-versâ*, and so the marriage is prosperous.

When the young man's father has finally fixed his choice, he sends two of his friends, the most diplomatic, carrying liquor and presents, num san ja, to make his proposal to the young girl's parents. For the marriage of the du ni and sometimes also of the tarat ni, the messengers do not address themselves directly to the girl's parents, but in the village where she lives, they choose an influential go-between, santung, who, for a retribution, takes the necessary steps. When the marriage proposals are not accepted, the dama ni sometimes renew them with success, or looks out elsewhere. When finally they are favourably accepted, the messengers come back a second time, always with presents, to fix the marriage day. They never choose a day of the old moon, as the future couple would be short-lived; they take an even day of the new moon, preferably the 8th, the 10th, the 12th or the 14th, according to the sorcerer's prediction; then the future couple shall live many years together.

5. Making over the Wife

On the eve of the marriage, the young man's parents, dama ni, send to fetch the intended by a special leading man, for the circumstance called lakya wa; he is accompanied by several others who carry liquor and some of the objects to serve as price.

The lakya wa presents himself in the evening at the rap daw, and according to custom, officially asks for the girl in marriage: "We have," says he, "dwelt in the same country from the beginning, together we have come to fix ourselves here where we plough the same rice fields; great friendship has always united us and till now you have given brides for our sons; this is why to-day we ask you for Miss So-and-so for Mr. So-and-so."

—"We cannot give her," say the parents of the intended. The lakya pretends to go away, walks up to the door and returns to renew his request; he gets the

same answer; again, he pretends to give up the business, but returns to ask once more for the girl who is again refused to him. It is only at the fourth request that the mayu ni give their consent; then, liquor is drunk and the price discussed. The girl's parents overestimate as much as possible and ask four or five buffaloes, four or five gongs, etc.

" We cannot give so much," the lakya wa protests, " we are poor and we cannot dispose of more than one buffalo, one gong, etc." After spending much eloquence, they come to an understanding, and fix the ordinary price. On their side, the mayu ni promise to give their daughter for a dowry so many necklaces, so many bracelets, etc.

Among some tribes the bargain is struck after the second interview and the final steps for the marriage are taken only when the price is nearly entirely paid.

When the contract is struck, the lakya wishes that the damsel may prosper like the egg-plant or the pimento, tells the legends he knows, and a part of the night is spent in rejoicings.

In the morning very early the lakya gets ready to start, then only do the parents reveal the bargain to their daughter, who up to this moment may have been ignorant of it. If she offers resistance, they try to persuade her by reasoning, when need be by threats, and willy nilly she must get ready to depart.

When the toilet is finished, she starts and is accompanied by the lakya wa or some boys and damsels-of-honour, num sa ni, who are chosen by her parents. Among the Kauris, she is not accompanied by young men, but only by girls in such numbers as suit her rank. The two most important carry in a back-basket, kuntaun shingnoi, the belongings of the fiancée and the prescribed presents of the mayu ni to the dama ni : halberds and swords of ceremony, quids, rice,

yams, beans, ginger and some other vegetables of which they must eat the evening of the marriage, and sow the remainder so that by multiplying it may bring luck to the young couple.

For a tarat wife, the mayu ni offer nothing to the domestic Nats; but when she is a princess, the dama ni relatives offer a buffalo to the mayu ni villagers. This animal is part of the sacrifices which are offered to the shade-spirits in order that the illustrious intended bride may not find any slippery foot-paths, that she may live long, that she may always agree with her future husband, etc. Well-to-do people present her with some jewels, and all the girls of the village accompany her to her new dwelling. Four of them constitute especially her suite of honour, two carry her belongings and the presents, and the other two, her umbrella and a footstool to sit on when tired.

When they come to the village, the lakhya wa first takes the girl and her companions to his house; there they take some food and some rest and wait till they are ordered to the marriage ceremony properly so called.

6. Marriage Ceremony

Meanwhile the dama ni prepare a feast; nearly the whole village being there and many friends having come from the surroundings. They offer fowls, pigs and even oxen or buffaloes; a dumsa offers them to the domestic spirits and presents to them the young wife as she comes. In his invocations he joins the names of the couple and entreats the spirits carefully to cement their union, to give them the same will, the same wishes, numerous children, etc.

As in days of old Ninkaung wa disinfected Miss Crocodile, they prepare in front of the house a kanphan. It is a row of wuntu bundles (thatching straw which came out of lungli lung) planted in the ground in a line

nearly two yards long, and which they divide in the middle with a long bar over which they make the young bride pass.

When all is ready, towards noon, two matrons, or sometimes four, who have their husbands and many children (the mother-in-law is one of the number if she fulfils these conditions), go with a ting kru of grog and another of phye, beer, to the lakhya wa's to take the fiancée away. They offer her those liquors which she must at least taste and then take her off. The two maids-in-waiting follow: the first with the halberds of ceremony on her shoulder and the second with the swords and the other presents in her back-basket.

When people see them come, they immolate near the kanphan to the Lakya maraung and to the Namda maraung (goblins which accompany the Lakya wa and the parents of the young man) two fowls and often a little pig, which they put in the thatching grass after sprinkling it with their blood.

Then one of the matrons takes the bride by the hand and makes her pass with her retinue through the centre of the kanphan; at the same time the young men check the evil spirits that might follow her. The young woman is henceforth purified and rid of the Nats which accompanied her; yet, if she slips whilst walking on the bar, it is a sign she shall die young. She will be long-lived on the contrary and have a numerous family if her dress takes no stain of blood; should it be spotted, ever so little, a maraung would be supposed to dog her destiny.

Immediately after, they introduce her into her new house by a new stair-case; if it is with her right foot she first goes up, her first-born shall be a boy; a girl, if it is with her left foot.

She is received at the door by her mother-in-law who puts a silver collar round her neck as a sign of adoption.

Then she enters into the room of her father and mother-in-law where she puts down the presents her maids of honour are bringing and is introduced to her bridegroom whom she frequently then sees for the first time; they make them sit on the same mat, drink of the same liquor and chew of the same tobacco. Then the new-married woman and her damsels-in-waiting give to every one numerous quids which the bridegroom's parents have provided; they then go to the spring, where the young wife purifies herself of the stains which she perhaps brought from her house, and draws the water which shall serve her in the evening to prepare two special stews.

Meanwhile, two or three cup-bearers pour out at will beer or grog, and some improvised cooks prepare the rice and the meat of the victims. Towards three or four o'clock, they serve in the open a copious repast to all present, and the friends of the family make a collection in order to help to cover the expense of the feast.

The young wife's parents do not assist at the marriage; but in the evening the dama ni send them a leg with the tail of the pig they have killed, and a part of the price of the girl; the remainder they pay little by little.

Few guests go away, and the night is spent again in completing the customary formalities. At first, the young wife shows her talents as a first rate cook; with the help of her maids-in-waiting, she prepares a sort of pottage, pha, with the rice, yams and beans she had brought from her house; to make it more pleasing to the taste the father and mother-in-law furnish salt and leather, shan phyi, of an ox or a buffalo. Then she cooks pha khrit, a mixture of eggs, dried fish, ginger, small acid fruits, and bitter leaves plucked in the forest. With her companions, she distributes a little of these stews to all the assistants, who, on tasting it, call out: "How nice it is! may the newly married one live long, may she

have a numerous posterity, etc." These dishes which are looked upon as delicate, serve for many as an evening meal, but they offer also rice to those who wish it.

When everybody has had enough, a jaiwa or a dumsa begins the ceremony of num lani de. On either side of the parents' hearth, the officiating minister puts up two pair of old weapons of ceremony and a small bamboo, shaman, to which they fix ears of shakyi, millet; in front, they place clothes and jewels of a woman, an iron cooking vessel, a tripod, jars of beer and grog, the leg of a pig, etc. The young wife and her followers sit close by, and often fall asleep as they do not understand much of the ancient language of the priest. The latter begins to evoke Miss Fine-Voice, Miss Old and their mother, Miss Beauty, whom he loads with presents in order to draw their favours on himself and on the whole assembly. He then relates the origin of marriage, which differs for commoners and lords; for the latter he adds their genealogy and the legends of their ancestors, Ningkaung wa and others. Then he exorcises the divers Nats which might haunt the new bride:

He despatches to the dog, Legaung majan, Miss Lazy; but she comes back complaining that the animal smells too much; the jaiwa then sends her back in the forest to a fetid shrub, Shai mong, where she is not yet satisfied; he finally despatches her to the Shans or the Burmese where she remains.

He then sends Yup nu Yup nai, Miss Sleep, to a kind of fern, majaun; Shabu majan, Miss Idiot, to the Maru ni; Rhu kha majan, Miss Divorce, to the Lathong ni; Makhri Shingkring majan, Miss Difficult Delivery, to Nkhrau, big monkey; Machit makhat majan, Miss Itch, to the forest to the Lagwi tree; Shabun majan, Miss Dwelling, to the Lamai tree; Latau majan, Miss Scurvy, to the Laisi tree, etc.

Finally the jaiwa, addressing the young bride and showing her the several objects near the hearth, says: "This is for you, may you last like the iron of these weapons, remain beautiful like these jewels, be good like these liqueurs and this meat, may you use a long time this pot to cook rice for your father and mother-in-law, and multiply yourself like the grains of the shakyi!"

When he has finished expressing these wishes, the young couple are made to sit on the same mat, and offered a tingkru of grog, another of beer, and a leaf containing tamia. Then Monsieur takes the cup to the lips of Madame, who must at least taste the liquor; and Madame does the same for Monsieur.

Both then take a pinch of tamia and put it into each other's mouth. They then distribute liquor and tamia first to the bridesmaids and to the young people, then to all present, who on tasting them, express the wish that the young couple may live long and may multiply, the tarat ni, like the grass sods and the bamboo; the du ni, like the rivers and the mountains. This is the end of the ceremony; dawn breaks and everyone goes away or drops asleep on the spot.

In some cases, when the parents of the husband have not the means to give at once a feast, they have the bride taken to their house, but put off the marriage ceremony.

7. Marriage by Kidnapping

When the dama fear that the damsel on which they have set their heart shall be refused, or when they have not enough to pay for her, they sometimes make up their mind to kidnap her. They first consult the domestic Nats in order to know what they think of their project; if the spirits seem to be averse, they gain their consent through sacrifices. Then a dumsa conjectures how to steal the girl and how many messengers are to be sent.

The messengers start with presents and stealthily go to the residence of an important man of the village where the coveted one is living. They gain him over to their side, make him their Santung and with him discuss and fix the price to be offered to the mayu ni. In the evening or during night, the messengers, with the connivance of the go-between, surprise the young woman, take her away and lead her to the village of the bridegroom where everything is ready for the marriage ceremony.

In the morning, the Santung breaks the news to the damsel's parents, makes over to them the presents of the dama ni, and exhorts them to consent to the marriage. If there is nothing against the union of the two children the mayu ni, as a rule, give their consent; nevertheless it sometimes happens that they run after their girl and bring her back home, even after the wedding celebration.

This form of marriage is rare among the Kauris, but it is pretty frequently resorted to among other Kachin tribes.

CHAPTER II

MARRIED LIFE

1. After the Marriage

In the morning after her marriage, Madame, with the help of her mother-in-law, must prepare tsa, so as to get beer on the 6th, the 8th or 10th day. They then invite the big wigs and her friends, who whilst tasting the beverage, congratulate the new bride and wish her all sorts of happiness. The same day, the young wife, accompanied by some members of her new relationship, goes to see again her family and offers them liquor which she has prepared herself.

During the year, or on the first occasion, the young man renders to his father and mother-in-law two special services : he helps them one season to prepare the rice fields, and another time to re-build their house. If he is not free, he may have his place taken by a workman, or give a bullock in compensation.

For two or three years, and even more, the young wife, when young or feeling no attraction for her husband, generally stays with her own family and contents herself with paying some visits to her husband and her father and mother-in-law, and with helping them somewhat when work is urgent. Even after a much greater lapse of time, Madame sometimes makes great difficulties to remain with her husband; the young couple, who were not consulted in the least, have sometimes no reciprocal inclination; therefore, the wife often runs away to her parents. The dama ni send messengers to take her back; they coax her or threaten her, and in general she finally joins her husband. Then children also come to cement their union and henceforth the couple are pretty faithful. The greater number of young men and young daughters of 15 to 20 years, who from the time I have been in these parts, have

married according to all the rules of the country, have got their first-born only the third or the fourth year and even later. The parents from whom I have asked an explanation, have answered me that among the Kauris the newly married through shame delay marital relations. It is not the same, I have been told, with the other tribes, where the young wife does live sooner and nearly continually in her husband's house.

2. Divorce

It happens pretty often that husband and wife who do not pull together, remain separate, even many years, without nevertheless divorcing in due style. Parents and friends act together in order to join them or succeed in some cases to get both to make a notch in the same spear with which they ought to pierce the first who troubles the peace. It is a way of making the disunited couple promise solemnly to live henceforth on good terms.

But, if after several attempts at reconciliation it is evident, on account of frequent quarrels, adultery, etc., that the married pair cannot pull together, the parents who have settled the marriage also decide the divorce.

When it is the young man or his family that send the wife away, the dama ni lose the whole numphu, marriage price, and must add a maraung nga, bullock or buffalo, to offer to the spirits.

When it is the wife who leaves of her own accord or is recalled by her parents, the latter must pay back the price they have received, plus a maraung nga.

When there are children, they divide them among themselves, and henceforth each one is free to contract another union. Sometimes, to end the trouble, the parents exchange the first wife who is impossible against one of her younger sisters whom they hope will be more

easily satisfied; the elder sister must then make over to her younger sister all her jewels, and the younger one takes her place.

3. Adultery

As with regard to marriage the taste of the children is of no account, and the young wife does not at once live with her husband, and as the morals among young people are rather free, it pretty frequently happens that conjugal chastity is violated. Then they never let the blame fall on the wife even when she is the guiltier party; they are satisfied with giving her a beating and often with only scolding her.

It is always the man who is responsible for the fault, and he it is or his family who pays little by little the fines, sumrai kha, more or less heavy according to the case, and according as the upshot of it is a child or not.

A married man who is caught red-handed with the wife of another, may be killed there and then by the husband or one of his relatives; but that kind of homicide, although considered lawful, becomes more and more rare, because it is forbidden by English Law, and also through fear of reprisals from the relatives of the victim. Very often they are satisfied with soundly beating the culprit with sticks and his taking away his vallet, his sword and his turban, which they allow him to buy off later on. If he has made his accomplice a mother, he or his parents must pay to the husband, or to his family, from five to eight buffaloes, a sword, a spear, a cooking pot, a blanket, a katsi, etc.

The fine is nearly the same when it is a free man who makes a married woman pregnant; the fine is brought down to the ordinary price of a woman when the accomplice is an unmarried girl. The case is slightly worse if there has been violence, and the fine is twice or three times heavier when a princess is the victim.

So, on these mountains, seven or eight years ago, a certain Lathoi, a married, tarat, assaulted Jamau, daughter of a duwa. At the birth of the child, Jamau's father condemned the culprit to pay him little by little fifteen buffaloes, two gongs, clothes, a slave, a gun, etc. Lathoi gave then the only buffalo which he had, the duwa died the following year and Lathoi for the funeral gave another buffalo which he had to procure. Some time later, Lathoi also died; but the debt remained and passed to his family. It is now one of Jamau's uncles who claims it from Lathoi's brother, and who has already secured three new buffaloes, gongs, etc. To finish the matter Lathoi's brother offers two other buffaloes; but the duwa claims ten in all, and the question shall be settled, heaven knows when. During that time Jamau has been given in marriage and sold as though she never had a stain on her name.

In the case of adultery, as well as of fornication, the birth of the child must take place in the house of the guilty man and at his costs. The child belongs by right to the natural father, but very often he gives it over to the mother. If later on he desires the child, he must pay to the woman a buffalo to compensate her for the milk she has given to his son, and a blanket, for the cloth she has worn out whilst carrying the child on her back. The mother has a right to the same compensation from the child, if the latter, when grown big, abandons her to rejoin his father or other relatives.

The punishments which follow adultery are enormous considering the poverty of the Kachins, and reduce to rapid destitution, the family of the guilty man, but the fear they inspire safeguards a little the good morals, about which the spirits do not bother, and which the people do not naturally seem to hold in high esteem, but observe only by compulsion.

4. Polygamy

Polygamy is allowed; according to a Kachin saying, a lord may take ten wives, and a man of the common class, four; Du num shi, tarat num mali.

Polygamists are nevertheless not very numerous and have seldom more than two or three wives. The first is called latung or natung, the second lashy or nashy and the third labai or nabai. The first is the principal; but the one most considered is she, who has children and works best. They often live in the same house, but have separate rooms and occupations to facilitate harmony. If they cannot live in peace, the husband gives them a different dwelling, and sometimes even puts them in separate villages.

Polygamy generally takes place:

1. When the first wife is childless or has only girls;
2. When one wife cannot do all the housework;
3. When at the death of a brother, there is no one free to marry the widow one has charge of, etc.

Professional prostitution and polyandry do not exist. As to voluntary celibacy, they seem not to have even the idea of it. It is a glory for every Kachin to marry and to have children, and a shame to die without posterity. You find nevertheless some rare old boys or old spinsters; but nearly always they are half-witted people or of an impossible temper, and at their death, they are given a ridiculous burial.

5. Condition of the Wife

Men, although looking upon women as inferior beings, do not ill-treat them too much. Here there are perhaps among married people fewer violent disputes

than among other more civilised races. It is because on the slightest pretext, *á fortiori* when she is ill-used, the wife runs away to her parents, who naturally take her part, and keep her with them until the dama ni are better disposed.

Besides, it is the wife who does all the housework, and to a great extent that of the fields, and the husband has every interest in treating her well. He generally does so, and even forgives her many whims, especially if she is active and gives him many children. When she is ill, he is at once ready to sacrifice to the Nats all the necessary victims to obtain her cure. Yet, he does not consult her in matters which are somewhat important, and in the meals he helps himself first, and takes the best morsels, although the food is the same for the whole family.

6. Modesty

Although very gross in their insults and quarrels, Kachins are not strangers to every sentiment of modesty.

They seem pretty reserved in their ordinary conversation and do not mention crudely shameful things. Even the words "husband" and "wife," madu wa, madu jam, do not seem to them sufficiently modest; the husband speaking of his wife designates her by the periphrasis "mother of my children" and she calls her husband "father of my children." Likewise in a conversation with the one or the other, instead of "your husband" or "your wife," it is better to say "the father or the mother of your children."

The dress, especially among women, is always sufficiently decent. At a fishing, when they go into the water, they seldom take off all their clothing and they never mix with men.

In the feasts and common meetings, they are not ashamed of drinking to excess; but they seem to shun

immoral acts, which besides would have the reprobation of those present, and be punished according to the case.

7. Condition of Widows

Woman, by marriage, enters into the family of her husband of whom she becomes so to say the property. So, at her husband's death, she is not free to return to her parents' house, or to re-marry with one of her choice; she remains at the disposal of the dama ni.

If she is young, she is generally married to a brother-in-law or a cousin-in-law old enough to contract marriage; on that occasion, the families exchange presents: the dama ni give to the mayu ni a gong and a dress, and the latter adorn the woman with some new jewels. Sometimes also a married brother-in-law takes her as second wife; in some rare cases, she becomes the wife of a child whom her husband had of a first marriage. If nobody marries her, she may, after agreement with the relatives, go back to her own family, who in the shape of presents give back to the dama ni a part of the num-phu, price of the wife. On occasions, she is sold again and so gets new buffaloes for her parents.

When a widow is old and has only small children, one of her brothers-in-law, without marrying her, takes charge of her and his nephews and helps them, or more frequently sweats them, till they are able to shift for themselves.(1)

(1) Under the English Government, widows and women in general have a tendency to become more free. I know some who have refused to become the wife of a brother-in-law and have at last gained their case against the whole of their relationship, who had in that way settled their fate.

PART VI

DEATH AND OBSEQUIES

CHAPTER I

DEATH

1. Causes of Death

It is the falsehood told by the Lord Kaban Sutna to Father Sun, which is the remote principle of the death of men. The immediate cause is the exhaustion or the rupture of the vital nerve (sumri) which occurs naturally or is brought about by the protracted absence of the soul (minla). The ceasing of the respiration denotes the end of the sumri. Hence often is the decease of some one notified by saying that his respiration has stopped (nsa htumsa or masa); has withered away (shet sa); or has run out (htisa); that the vital nerve has snapped (sumri tutfsa); or that the soul has left or has returned to the ancestors (minla wa sa); synonymous expressions of 'si sa,' he is dead.

In general therefore the Nats do not cause death; Karai Kasang does admit that they bite and weaken the sumri, but not that they break it. Some malign sprites, however, like the Jathungs, the lasas, the sawns, the hpyis, have among the people the reputation of being able to take away life. According to the ancient bard, they do not anticipate the final hour; they simply observe when the sumri is about to be exhausted and then they come in great numbers to get a feast and to try to carry the minla away with them.

2. Agony and Death

Until the last moments of a sick man the Kachins have recourse to the Nats and if they have no animals left for sacrifice, they try to enlist their favour by promises. At times they tie with a string the hair of the patient to the altar of one of the great spirits, whom they honour with a special devotion and they beg of him

to protect or to restore the vital nerve in danger; they chiefly pray to Karai Kasang not to let the sumri of the dying man go and to save him.

The latter, if he has not yet done it, gives his ultimate instructions (ga madat), which are like his last will; he mentions his debtors and creditors and the place where he may have hidden money; he distributes his goods, always favouring the youngest one of his sons; sometimes he settles the details of his obsequies, indicates the number of pigs and buffaloes which are to be offered up for him, fixes the spot of his tomb, etc.

When the agony is at hand, and even before, at the first loss of consciousness, relatives and friends burst out in sobs. Some go outside looking everywhere and calling to the top of their voice for the soul which is supposed to be wandering in the fields; others bending over the ears of the dying man whom they often keep in a sitting position or resting in their arms, call out to him with all their strength. Do thou come back! remain still! Listen not to those who want to take thee away! Why leave us! Am I not thy father, thy mother, thy child, thy friend? etc.

The lamentations increase when death is ascertained; the fact is that the defunct, nay, aged people, who are no longer of any service are generally much regretted; but it is chiefly over the young men and the children that they weep. Then the parents utter cries of despair: kill me, cut off my head! etc.; they cast far away the lances and swords of state that had been placed near the sick man to protect his sumri, they strike and insult the corpse saying: It was of little use to feed thee, art thou not ashamed to leave us? The men, however, show less grief than the women and they at once decide on the kind of ceremony they intend to have.

I shall first treat of the solemn obsequies (abru) with which the natural death of big persons and sometimes of children is almost always honoured.

CHAPTER II

SOLEMN OBSEQUIES

PREPARATORY—MANG ABRUDE

1. Dismissal of the Domestic Nats

Immediately after the death, the sprites are dismissed, with the exception of the manes, which are kept in the house because the sight of a corpse is abhorrent to them and they are moreover ashamed for having allowed one of their protègés to perish.

For this they wrap up all their cups (nat lavv) in leaves and place them in a basket, which is hung outside at the rear of the dwelling. They wait for the end of the funeral to honour again, inside the house, the domestic Nats. If in the interval they have to deal with them, they invoke them and make offerings to them outside near the house.

2. Notification of the Death to the Living

As soon as the sprites have got their leave, the news of the death is at once imparted to the villagers. Three shots are fired and three times the big tamtam is beaten in three rapid strokes (lahpu ban dum). Everyone knows the signal, and those that are free come to lend a hand in completing the ceremonies and the funeral task. At the same time, two individuals, generally two children, are made to carry the bad news to the relatives, who live elsewhere; barring this precaution the ' ji mat ' (manes of the ancestors), would of their own accord go and warn them by doing them some mischief. A lance of ceremony (shatungri) which is with the messengers, denotes that they bring tidings of death (lasu su de). It is not of bad omen to meet them on the way, but they themselves must avoid entering the houses which are not connected with the departed. It would be a foreboding of

evil for the members, who would not fail to exact a compensation; they imagine in fact that the souls of the ancestors of the dead man may be accompanying the two messengers and bite chiefly the strangers of the family.

3. - Notification of the Death to the Ancestors and to the Defunct

In compliance with the mortuary rites they summon as soon as possible a dumsa (priest) and a Hking-jawng (butcher assistant of the priest). They arrive, but stop in front of the house and wait until two elders aware of the formalities come and receive them in the name of the family. These come forward and one of them utters the words: Such a one is dead, come and perform the funeral rites.

"We cannot, we are too young and fail in experience, call more aged and capable ministers."

The two elders go and communicate the answer to the relations of the deceased, who send them again to ask the services of the priest and of the butcher. Same refusal and a new application. It is only at the fourth request that they accept and are then introduced into the house.

The dumsa begins business at once to acquaint the ancestors (jini) with the calamity and to invite them to come and secure the soul of the deceased. In case he was aged and head of the family, the priest first of all appeals to his great-grandfather (jike). In order to attract his attention he strikes the tamtam by the left hand with a wooden hammer which he soon puts aside not to be used again; then in a mocking tone he tells him: "Thou art dead! Thy son and grandson have followed thy example! Behold thy great-grandson has done the same! Come to take him and to conduct him to the realm of the shades."

The dumsa strikes once more the tamtam with a new mallet which he also throws away and calls on the grandfather (ji) : " Thou art dead ; thy son has followed thy example ; thy grandson has done the same, come take him and conduct him to the realm of the shades."

After that he questions the father (wa) : " Thou art dead ; thy son also, come and take him."

Finally he addresses the defunct himself : " We have made many sacrifices and offerings to save thee, but we have not succeeded ; thou hast died as thy fathers did ! go and join them ! thou art henceforth Tsu (a soul or minla of the departed)."

Up to that moment, the deceased had been considered merely asleep and if the priest had delayed in coming, they would have served out to him at meals with the right hand his ordinary portion. Now he is truly deceased, his soul is called tsu, and it is with the left hand that they will make him all the usual presents : Hence the saying : Pai lata, tsu lata ; left hand, tsu hand.

If it is a woman that died, her own ancestors are not evoked, but only her husband and the forefathers of her husband : in some families warning is given to the great-grandmother-in-law and to the husband or the father of the husband, if this one is still of the living. The tamtam is only used if the person is aged and honourable. For children, young men and maidens, they only summon the soul of the father or of the grandfather, to which they sometimes join that of the mother or of the grandmother.

4. Toilet and the Laying out of the Defunct

As soon as the dumsa has given notice of death to the defunct, they take him out of his particular room where he has breathed his last and they deposit him at the entry of the sanctuary of the sprites (Wunhtung). There, the priest informs him that they are

going to dress him up for the great journey to his forefathers and he orders him to rise. Some people raise him and make him sit on a stool; they bring a little water that is tepid or supposed to be so (for they only make a pretence of warming it) in a piece of bamboo or in an old useless pot, if the deceased is a commoner, in a tamtam for a great personage and an aged man; sometimes a woman moistens her left hand and passes it but once, softly over the face, the arms and the legs of the deceased—(Mang Kashin de or lamyit de, washing of the corpse).—This semblance of purification has for its object to rid it of the stains of this world. After that they dress up the dead man in his finest clothes (mang shakru de), they add his ornaments and favourite objects, but in inverse order, as they suppose the spirits bring them to the realm of shades. On the men they suspend the knapsack and the sword to the side within reach of the left hand; they also place in their left hand the travelling lance and the bow or rifle which they used. The women are adorned with their jewels: by their side is placed their ordinary basket (shingnoi) in which are deposited their tobacco box (yep), their supply of thread and needles (tawgu), their comb, their weaving implements and whatever is their own. Near the children they spread out their ordinary toys and some new ones made for the occasion. To all of them they hide in the mouth or under the armpit a small silver coin for the first needs of the journey.

The defunct is kept on the stool in that array for the time only of his presentation to the evoked ancestors. The introduction done, they leave him the fine clothes, but they take away the various articles of parade. He is then carried to the room of the spirits (mang sharawn de) and laid on a mat or carpet according to the direction of the house, with the head near the back partition, so as to face the visitors. If he is the proprietor of the house, he is placed right in the middle in a line with

the roof-top; the secondary people : women, married son, daughter-in-law, are put a little to the side between the middle of the dwelling and the side partition—near every one of them, their favourite objects are again suspended.

When the dumsa is away from the village or delays coming, a thing which very often happens, the relatives wash and dress the deceased before he stiffens and leave him in the mortuary room. But they always wait for the arrival of the priest to announce the death and to go through the other ceremonies.

For the lords and their ladies, not for their children, the toilet is done in a more solemn manner and takes place only later on, the next day of the death or the subsequent one, when they have had time to gather the necessary personages and to procure the special ablution water.

The purification in fact must be done with river or rivulet water drawn by a dumsa or somebody who knows the usual rites of the circumstance. This one, escorted by a number of men carrying rifles, lances, tamtams, drums, cymbals, starts in warlike order and goes to a watercourse, more or less large, according to the importance of the deceased. On the riverside he invokes first of all Majoi hpungwan, the first great river that runs out of Majoi shingrabum : " Majoi hpungwan, come to clear bausa of its rust " (the bausa is a kind of small gong, quite flat, which is never sounded and is rather valuable, generally owned by the lords). In this circumstance it represents the defunct himself. " I have no time to go and take the rust off thy bausa," answers the river. Then the priest invites in succession the tributaries of Majoi hpungwan which are Hpung kawn, Hpung chyawng, Trung, Tawang, Mali, n-Mai, Di-un, Taba and Ma-ang. But not one of those rivers is free and can comply with his request. At last he appeals to the river that runs at his feet : it is the Mam-Maw for this region.

—Comest thou, Mam-Maw, to take the rust away from the bausa?

"I shall go and take the rust off the bausa," is supposed to be Mam-Maw's answer. Then they fire two gunshots into the river to drive away the Jahtungs (evil spirits) and the dirt that may be there and at once the dumsa with a new bamboo cup draws water downstream, but finding it impure, he throws it upstream; then he draws upstream, and for the same reason pours it downstream. He draws from the middle and finds at last the liquid clear and fit to purify the bausa.

With music and powder sounding they reach the palace, but at the front door another dumsa stops the first of the water carriers.

—Disturber thou, liar, thief, what dost thou come here for?

—I am neither disturber, nor liar, nor thief, and I come to take the rust off the bausa.

—Then you may proceed.

He arrives at the portico where the same dialogue takes place, which again is repeated at the gate of the palace. Immediately at the sound of a great tamtam, commences the announcement of the death, the toilet, the laying out of the defunct in the sanctuary of the Nats. (For the toilet they make him sit on a chair or country couch and a bausa must be used as basin for the purification water.) Meanwhile, outside the dwelling, they beat the big drum, fire guns and close to the mortuary chamber a pig or a buffalo is killed to regale the living only.

For want of a dumsa or of an expert to bring water from a river, children are sent; but on their return, a priest must at the entrance of the palace receive and consecrate the precious liquid.

CHAPTER III

1. Karoi

When the friends and the villagers have arrived at the house of the deceased, they divide among themselves the initial funeral business; some see to the coffin, others prepare the Karoi.

In front of the house, at ten or fifteen feet from the part which is used as a shed, they dig a hole in which they plant vertically a thick bamboo from four to five metres long; all around, and in the same cavity in the ground, they put a number of small bamboos and brush-wood of which the top part bulges outside so as to give to the whole concern the appearance of an inverted cone.

At about three feet above the ground they fix the bamboos to a thick root or branch which forms a crown, and at the same height a transversal bamboo makes it stronger still, and by its position, either to the right or to the left of the thick vertical bamboo, indicates the sex of the deceased. It is this pile of bamboos and brush which is called Karoi. They suspend from it in streamers clothes or strips of cloth or of multicoloured silk, generally three, and some bamboo tresses.

I have asked of a number of Kachins the object of the Karoi; some told me that it is exacted in order to do away with the evil omens produced by the death (na shaprai de), others and the old Jaiwa in particular, consider it as the expression of the grief which even plants feel at the man's démise : a good number cannot explain it otherwise, than that it is the custom.

For all of them it indicates the death and the preparation of the solemn obsequies.

Life, nsa, is attributed to Karoi or to one of the plants which compose it. So that, as soon as it is put up, as a compensation for its contributing to the

obsequies and to appease the soul of the plants, they present to it as to a spirit, hens and a pig or a buffalo. The buffalo then is not slaughtered in the ordinary way, but they tie it to the trunk of a tree fixed in the ground near the Karoi and they knock it down with blows of a thick bar on the head.

No need of the ministration of a priest to make offerings to the Karoi. Anybody offers to it, in the hole where it stands, beer and a little of the tongue and brain of the sacrificed victims. After that their skulls are fixed on the Karoi bamboos, with the object of carrying them away later on, and the whole Karoi besides, to the funeral monument.

2. Coffin—Di-u

Some old people take care to have their coffin ready in advance. But in most cases it is only after the demise that this business is seen to. Five or six people go into the forest and pick out a big tree, a latsai by preference, the wood formerly set aside for the lords, but nowadays used for all classes.

Before felling the tree, they generally sacrifice a chicken to it by striking it against the trunk; as soon as it is down on the ground they place as an offering on the stump itself the head of the victim and cook the rest for themselves. For want of a chicken they present the tree with a small dry fish, always with the object of preventing its soul from biting them and in order to pay as it were for the wood thus taken. They then separate the part of the trunk which they reserve for the bier and they split it so as to have two pieces of unequal thickness. Both are hollowed out and the deeper one becomes the box of the coffin, the other acts as a lid which is made to fit to perfection. They cut away all round the useless wood so as to give the bier a round shape, thicker towards the head, to which they tie from the bottom upwards a

tuft of hair (u-jaw), which denotes a natural death. When the plain work of the coffin is done, they carry it to the mortuary house where they finish it off and render it as light as possible.

To the side of the head and chiefly on the tuft, they draw with charcoal a number of circles open on top which have the virtue of frightening the minlas (souls) of the living that might wish to accompany the deceased. The bier being finished is placed against the Karoi where it is left until the time the defunct is placed in it.

3. First Regulation Offerings to the Soul of the Defunct and to the Forefathers

In the evening of the day the man died or on the next day, in the sanctuary of the spirits the first regulation offerings to the soul of the defunct and to the three evoked ancestors take place. The Hkingjawn by pressing its neck smothers a tiny little chicken, as it is exclusively reserved for the dead and he makes four parts of it, of which one is the head only. The dumsa presents the latter to the tsu and the others to the Jini, and brings for each of them on a bamboo tray a portion of rice and a cup of beer. Later he makes the whole disappear under the boarded floor of the house to the great delight of the hens, dogs and pigs. Naturally the living may not taste the offerings made to the dead. They are polluted and were one to eat of them, he would lose his memory according to the proverb: Tsu hkumhpa shajang, malap de—if one eats of the offerings of the dead, one forgets.

One should never give to the tsu brandy and dishes with salt and pepper as condiments, as they do not like it; they would get furious and revenge themselves by bringing on colds or fever. The food which is served to them is not called shat, ordinary fare,

but mana, a name used henceforth on the sacrificial days to designate even the meals of the living at the mortuary house until the soul of the defunct is sent off to the other world.

4. The Funeral Dance—Nangdawng Manau

Some time after the first offerings to the defunct, generally in the afternoon of the second day, the funeral dance commences. The dumsa announces it to the tsu and at once according to the rank of the family, the big drum and tamtams hanging near the Karoi are beaten, and guns are fired all the time the meeting lasts. Two special dancing masters wearing a helmet adorned with long plumes, if the defunct is a lord, and armed each with a lance of ceremony (shatung ri) blessed by the priest and called nangdawng ri, for the occasion, open the march, accompanied by some men and children (no women) beating cymbals and small gongs. The first conductor represents the dead and must know his part well: the second figures the living and he has only to imitate the movements of the leader; they march one behind the other at a rapid step and hold the lance by shaking it in a different manner according to the actions which they simulate. The dance starts inside the house, near the fireplace of the reception saloon.

The two leaders, with their lance pointed down, advance up to the knee of the deceased and return one-fourth of the length of the dwelling; they go again up to the loins of the defunct and turn back one-half of the house and so on to the shoulders and three-fourths of the dwelling, to the head and to the door. They then leave and continue outside under the shed around the Karoi and on the sides of the dwelling which they pretend to dismantle. They feign first to remove the thatch, then parts of the roof, the partitions, the posts, etc., and after each operation they come and go round the Karoi; they close the dance by pretending to erect this

last monument and they put down their weapon by the side of it.

This ceremony of which we shall see a repetition later on, has for its object, I was told, after all the other funeral rejoicings, to blot out the bad omen of death and to obtain merit; but for most of the people it has no other reason than custom (it is done so at the funeral of the squirrel and of the lord Kaban sutna (*see Mythology*). Thus our fathers did and we imitate them.

Whatever it be, it chiefly consists in pretending to destroy the house in order to reconstruct it afterwards at the end of the obsequies, as if the dwelling and whatever has been sullied by the presence of a deceased were not to be any longer at the service of the living.

5. Erection of the Catafalque (mang jang) the putting into the coffin, new offerings to the tsu

Inside the house, at the very spot where the deceased is laid out, a bed or catafalque made of bamboo is put up. It is nearly as long as the coffin, two feet broad and four or five feet high. A little below the middle they fix a small platform to place the defunct there first, and afterwards to serve as a couch for his soul; by way of curtains they spread out his clothes and coverlets; all round they place or suspend all his particular things; on the left a new fireplace is made (tsu dap) where a fire is continually kept burning to allow the defunct to warm himself at pleasure. When all is ready, they go outside to fetch the coffin left there near the Karoi; they burn in it some handfuls of straw to frighten away the souls of the living, and not to give them time to lodge themselves in it, they carry it at a run near the 'mang jang.' They take care to keep the children away and only aged people are to put the body in the coffin. They

place him resting on his back and with the hands along the sides. For the lords, the bausa, which was used as a basin at the purification, is put under the head to serve as a pillow. In all cases the clothes in which they were dressed are left, but without a single brass button, otherwise the family would fare badly. Then the silver necklaces are also removed, the bracelets and other precious ornaments. Neither the belt nor the many rattan hoops and rings which adorn the loins and the lower part of the knees are removed; but they are all cut, so that the dead may not feel uncomfortable when they swell and may easily turn them into links for the foot-bridges which they will have to throw over the rivers on their way to the ancestors.

Soon the coffin is put down without its lid on the platform of the catafalque and the priest makes the second ritual offerings to the tsu. They consist of rice, beer and a fat hen, but this time the departed has but a tiny part of the breastbone and the assistants all the rest. These latter though numerous have in general a good fare, for besides the flesh of the victims killed at the time of the toilet or sacrificed to the Karoi, the relatives and friends of the family, women chiefly, have come forward with portions of rice and vegetables, not for the tsu, but to help in covering the expenses of the first meal. After the sacrifice the dumsa examines the bones of the legs of the hen and, according to his finding them uniform or not, he announces to the family good health or impending grief.

6. Nocturnal Dance—Kabung dum

On the night that follows the first nangdawng manau and the laying out of the deceased on the mang jang, the kabung dum commences. It is a nocturnal rejoicing of which dancing forms the largest item. It commences after the evening meal, between ten and

eleven o'clock, and it lasts till about two o'clock in the morning, and at times till the break of day. Many people are at it, but at least for the present the aged keep generally near the fireplace, and spend their time in drinking and chatting. The young people chiefly do the dancing. At a given moment the priest announces it to the deceased and some individuals led by a master of ceremonies well up in his task, and 'bunglawa' by name, gather outside near the Karoi around which they march four times; they re-enter in zigzag fashion the house and go on with their movements inside, being joined by a number of assistants. The men open the march, the lads follow, then the women and young girls. They turn slowly and in time around the middle partition, now one behind the other, then side by side at the sound of three tamtams, a large one, a middle sized and a small one, which three dancers carry and beat in turn; the others have each a wooden wand which they shake in unison imitating the gestures of the leader. In most cases the women have nothing, and hold each other by the hand whilst going through the various movements of the body.

In this dance they simulate alternately the different workings and operations demanded by the rice and the cotton cultivation, by hunting, fishing, weaving, etc. The same motion goes on at every step during the full round. It is altered at each turn when the leader comes before the mang jang.

The kabung dum is repeated nearly every night until the close of the obsequies; but then it begins inside the house near the catafalque. It is faithfully done because it is a display of affection and also for fear of the spirits of the dead. They are persuaded that unless the living accomplish it, the departed ones will come and do it and they are sure on their leaving to take with them some minla whose absence will cause another demise.

When the deceased is a high personage, the surrounding villagers, loaded with presents and chiefly with liquor, make it a point of honour to come at least once and join the feast.

7. Grave—Mang Sung

There are no cemeteries so called. They bury the dead where they please, mostly, however, out of the village on a nice spot near the tomb of some forefather. They have besides a way of knowing the place which the defunct desires, if he has not indicated it himself before dying.

One of his relatives, son or brother, armed with a lance of ceremony and carrying a cup of beer and a cock or an egg blessed by the dumsa, goes in quest of a site, lup ra tam. Having come to the place that pleases him, he puts down the cock and throws the eggs down with strength; if the cock crows or the eggs break, it is a sign that the deceased wishes to be buried there. When the former does not crow and the latter remain intact, it proves that the spot is ill-chosen and they must look elsewhere. In the case of lords, it is the priest himself who also with a cock starts in search of the burial place, and he generally indicates a hillock, from where the defunct commands the surrounding view and where he is separated from the people. At the spot where the cock crows or the egg breaks, at once the lance of ceremony is planted and the cup of beer is poured out, as if to take possession of the place and to allow the tsu to recognize it.

Often enough they wait for the very moment of the interment to dig the grave; but if the assistants are numerous a headman and two or three day-labourers do the work. The headman gives the first stroke of the pick-axe, mansung wan de; then he only watches the work and for salary he receives a hen which he has

brought to the place and keeps afterwards at his house. If it produces well, it is a sign that the defunct is well pleased with his resting place.

For the common people, the grave is only three feet deep or thereabout. That of the highborn, from four to five, and as a mark of honour it is panelled with planks, usawm.

8. The Burial—Mang Lup De

One or two generations ago (the present old men were witnesses of it in their childhood), the body was kept in the coffin on the catafalque until the end of the funeral ceremonies which may last several months.

The idea was, so they told me, that as long as the corpse was present there would be no fresh case of demise in the family. They took, therefore, care to provide two holes in the coffin, one below, the other above, to which they fixed two bamboo tubes, the first to release into the earth the results of the decomposition, the other to send the smell up into the air above the roof of the house. But little by little this inconvenient custom dropped and to-day the burial is gone through without delay. It takes place on a even-number day after the death, the second, fourth or sixth, when the distant living relations have arrived and the ceremonies already described are finished.

Unless the corpse smell badly, they wait for that moment to cover the bier; the dumsa then announces to the defunct that they are going to bury his skin and he begs of his soul, tsu, not to get angry and to remain at peace with the mangjang.

Naturally the relatives renew the lamentations and often put another little silver coin in the mouth of the deceased. Aged friends close the coffin and tie the lid to it with long bands of bamboos and they also fix on top of the coffin lengthwise a bar or thick bamboo, the extremities of which pass beyond and serve as hand-bars to carry it. It is taken out by the small entrance

door, and two or four men hoist it on their shoulders, feet foreward and betake themselves to the burial spot.

The cortége is not numerous and does not include a single priest, but only some parents and friends. There are no children in it, lest their minla should wish to be off to the land of the dead.

Besides, in order to deter the souls of the living, they take care to place over the coffin some raspberry-bushes and a woman's dress. The burial is not done in silence, but there is no show, no firing of guns, no noise of tam-tams, not a single present for the defunct to follow, for his soul still dwells in the catafalque. When they arrive at the place of the grave they dig it more if necessary, then on the surface they place three poles on top of which they put the bier. With a powerful stroke of the sword they cut the tuft, ujaw, they take away the ligaments of the coffin which they open for a moment to cast a last look at the dead and chiefly to allow the souls that perhaps might be shut up there to escape.

Without tying it up again they lower the coffin by means of the bamboo bands which they do not completely pull back and which they allow to hang by an end down to the bottom of the grave. First they cover with some leaves the side of the head so that the face and in particular the eyes be not spoiled, then with the hands doing duty for the few tools of which they dispose, everybody breaks up the earth around and fills up the grave so that it convexes by about a foot above the ground; failing that precaution the deceased would not be pleased and would take revenge on the family. Then the ligaments are extracted at the words : Minla wa rit law, minla come back, expecting thus to bring out the souls of the living which may have been forgotten in the pit. At the head of the tomb the u jaw is planted so as to emerge a little out of the ground and frighten the minlas that

might wish to loiter that way: it is surrounded with stones or with a small barrier of bamboos and plants. If it is during the rains, a little straw roof is added; the place around is cleaned up a little and the people retire shaking off the dust by beating their arms and legs with leaves of the forest. They imagine that by doing so they get rid of the tsu that might adhere and manifest their displeasure over a burial. These thoughts, they each of them express, whilst purifying themselves: "Souls of the departed, do not follow me! May our hands never make another burial, and may our feet move only to go and get rice, to earn money," etc.

9. Maintenance of the Soul

After the funeral the catafalque is not taken to pieces, but if it occupies too much room it is shortened a little and it becomes like the residence of the defunct and instead of a body it is given a hollow bamboo (chying-chyen) three or four feet long. They place the latter on the wooden platform or on the bed of the mang jang; they give it a bolster and it is covered with a blanket. All around are suspended or deposited all the clothes and favourite objects of the deceased, otherwise in the shape of a rat he would nibble them and render them useless. Morning and evening, not during the day, at meal time he is attended to first with his portion on a plate and a cup which stand permanently behind the pillow. Every day also at an early hour and at nightfall his special fire is lit, tsu tap, near which they take care to place a stool for him to sit on; if need be the young people stir up the fire by means of a fan; aged females alone may do it by the mouth; the children that would use such means would expiate their fault by breathing incessantly and unconsciously during their sleep. Thus the tsu is entertained up to the feasts that close the obsequies, unless they be

obliged to put him asleep for a time to permit the villagers to receive the great spirits of heaven.

10. Purification of the Dumsa
Sleep and Awaking of the Soul

The priest who officiates at the obsequies becomes impure, and in that state he may not treat with the great Nats of heaven. These moreover abhor the tsu and refuse to visit a village where there reside any. It happens, however, that during the ceremonies of the funeral, the dumsa has to transact business with the superior spirits in the name of the whole community or in particular cases. If it is in another village where there is nobody dead, it is enough for him to purify himself before coming in contact with the great Nats. To do this he repairs to the house of the deceased, establishes himself in the room of the strangers and gets himself presented with some liquor and money, one shilling or so in the case I saw. He carries away the gifts, and outside the dwelling near the Karoi another priest recites some formulas in front of him, and sprinkles his face with a twig of the raspberry bush. The mouth of the former dumsa is henceforth without stain and he may elsewhere converse with the masters of heaven. When it is in the village itself that he has to invoke those gentlemen, he must as he purifies himself hide or make to disappear the tsu whose presence would prevent the coming of the spirits. To that effect, according to the means of the family, he sacrifices a hen or a pig or a buffalo to the soul of the defunct and he puts it to sleep after the feast (mang shayup de). Formerly he put the corpse to sleep, to-day when the burial has taken place, he makes the soul sleep, but to denote this operation, the old expression is still in use, mang shayup de; several times still we shall see mang, corpse, used for tsu, soul of the deceased.

During his sleep, the spirit of the defunct is considered as invisible or at least as incapable to cause repugnance to the great Nats. They maintain him no longer and there is an end of the kabung dum and other rejoicings; the obsequies are interrupted and the illustrious visitors can be worthily received. When these are done with or, almost always, only when everything is ready for the final mortuary feasts, the priest with some fresh victim awakes the sleeper (mang sharant de) and the funeral ceremonies go on.

CHAPTER IV

MANG MAKOI DE

or

SECOND PART OF THE OBSEQUIES

The final and also chief funeral ceremonies take place but one or several months after the burial; they are even put off to the following year when resources fail to have them earlier. They are called mang makoi de, hide corpse; probably in ancient times they comprised the interment and consisted, as they do still now, chiefly in erecting a tomb for the defunct. Often it is also called by the name of mangli galau de (mortuary labour to do). They last several days and are the occasion of great rejoicings in which all the relatives and friends, most of the villagers and numerous lovers of good cheer come to take part. The mourning family must entertain all the guests, and to do it, out of vanity they do not mind great expenses and even loans. Besides the near relations come to the rescue, as also the mayu, the wife's relations, and the dama, the husband and the father and mother-in-law of his daughters, who provide rice, others a jug of brandy or beer, a pig, a buffalo, etc. When somehow or other the essential part of the feast is provided, the immediate preparations begin. The priest designates the person, who in order to have good beer, must first set a jar of rice to ferment; after that several other large sized pitchers are made ready. Some men prepare gunpowder; others go to China for a supply of brandy; the women and the young girls help in husking the rice, in collecting firewood, in gathering leaves for plates, etc.

The mang makoi de then starts or is definitely settled by the mahkan shadun de, and takes ordinarily three days, each of them being called by the name of the principal operation that takes place: 1. ngau shaw,

2. lupra kanen, 3. shawa htu. Let us go into some details for each of this new series of mortuary practices.

1. Regulation of the Mang Makoi de, Mirkhan Shadun de

When everything is very nearly ready, parents and friends meet together to fix the days of the feast, to settle the particulars of the ceremonies, to determine the number and the kind of the victims, etc.

Whilst the elders hold council, the young men go a-fishing or a-hunting. On their return in the evening, the dumsa announces to the soul of the defunct the mang makoi de, and in the name of the family he offers him on the mang jang the usual presents; these are rice, beer and especially a fresh fish; otherwise all fishing and hunting would be henceforth fruitless. These offerings are called mahkan, hence the name of the day mahkan shadun de shani.

The strangers may after that start their offerings to the tsu. That evening and on the days following, all the houses of the village and most of the long distance visitors come to present him a small chicken or an egg with a tobacco quid and a goblet of beer, so that the dumsa and the hkingjawng are all the time on duty.

When there are a number of chickens, several are sacrificed together. The deceased, it is understood, is satisfied with their life, nsa, and a tiny slice of the brisket, the rest is for the guests or at least for the chief helpers.

This profusion of gifts has of course for object to help the deceased in the other world, but chiefly to propitiate him and to prevent him from causing harm in the future. That is why, rather through fear than out of love, each family is anxious as it were to bring him their gift.

After due deliberation the parents generally choose the third or fourth following day to commence the great

ceremonies of the mang makoi de; the next day young men or children go in the villages to announce it to the relations of the deceased and to invite them to the feast. Also to carry the news of the death they go in twos, one of them being armed with a shatung ri, and they must avoid entering in the houses not connected with the family in mourning.

2. 1ST DAY—NGAU SHAW DE

At the house or at the grave they gather the materials that are needed to erect and adorn the tomb of the defunct (ngau, materials—shaw de, to collect).

At an early hour is offered to the tsu a pig or a buffalo which they slaughter near the Karoi; of this victim, as of all the big animals besides, that are immolated to the dead, they choose for him a bit of tongue or brain only, all the rest goes to regale the assistants. (There is no part put aside for the lord of the village, nor for the ministers of religion, the latter receiving a salary for their office.)

Soon a part of the flesh is on the fire for the morning meal which takes place towards 9 o'clock, with henceforth plenty of beer or brandy. Immediately after, they go in front of the house through a nangdawng manau, which is already known, in which the two leaders simulate the different occupations that are intended for the day, gathering of materials, etc. At the same time there takes place around the Karoi another sort of dance called nangdawng pye de (pye, to trample on), one or several files of men brandishing their sword in unison, followed by a line of women shaking a fan or a simple large leaf of a tree, now erect, then bent forward, turning and returning, advancing and backing by dragging the feet and uttering wild shrieks in which the noise of the powder and of all the Kachin music join; such diversion lasts three quarters of an hour or one hour. After that they set

slowly to work. The young men, with music band ahead, go to the tomb to gather materials : wood, stones, straw, etc., some go to the forest to take a tree trunk which they need to make a kaprawng. The women busy themselves with the kitchen, get a fresh provision of water, wood, leaves, etc. Round the house the elders are chatting whilst smoking opium.

Between three and four o'clock everyone is back to the house of death for the day meal, followed by the same rejoicings in the morning.

Then, if the defunct is a big personage, the youth, led by the bung lawa, leave in dancing style and music ahead for the forest to get a supply of noisy instruments for the kabung dum—they stop at a fine cluster of bamboos around which they go four times. The corypheus then offers to the plants as a kind of bargain or to appease them, a packet of rice, two goblets of beer and a chicken or a small pig which they roast on the spot. Whilst some are cooking, others cut down some bamboos and they distribute among the whole lot pieces shaped like castanets. Everyone makes at least a lunch at the sacrifice and the return takes place in a great clatter. The castanets are laid down near the mang jang to be resumed after supper and to carry on, all through the night, a prodigious kabung dum.

3. Second Day—Lup ra Kanen

The second day is chiefly spent in erecting on the tomb, a funeral monument and in cleaning up the place, lup ra kanen, tomb, place to clean.

As the gathering will be getting more and more numerous, cooks are appointed, cup-bearers, a superintendent of the works and principally a steward of the house called rap daw namdu, saloon master, whose business is to receive and entertain the outsiders. Already in the morning an ox or a buffalo, generally provided

and even killed by one of the sons-in-law of the family, is sacrificed. If this family is in easy circumstances, another big animal is immolated to the Karoi; when poor, it is found enough to offer to the plants two chickens or a part of the first victim; then the dumsa orders the Karoi to be extracted and he sends his soul, nsa, to the confines of the earth, whence he may never be able to return.

The breakfast is still more copious than it was the day before and is followed by the same rejoicings. The leaders of the naugdawng manen feign in their movements to build up the tomb. Dancing done, work begins. Some would-be artists, out of the tree trunk brought the day before, cut a sort of figure, kaprawng, which is not without some resemblance with the bust of a man; for arms they attach two little boards perforated symmetrically—that which is meant for the head is round when it is for a man, flat for a woman.

Almost all the people, even the elders, go to the tomb, the plants and bamboos of the Karoi are brought to contribute towards a monument if a hkying chyang or a chyawng lup are erected. They are left behind in the forest when the tomb is to be of stone.

The hkyinchyang is more or less roomy according to the importance of the deceased; it is generally made of long bamboos and resembles a great straight cone, five or six metres high, having at the base a diameter of from ten to twenty feet; it is covered over, down to the ground, with thatch or palm leaves. This kind of tomb or dwelling for the dead is purely Kachin and is very ancient; people pretend to have learned it from the famous ning kawng who told them to make the woodwork like the claws of a crab and the roof similar to a mushroom.

It is still much in vogue, but on account of the difficulty in getting the materials and chiefly since the time the lords tolerate it for the people, it is sometimes replaced by a chyawng lup, and often by a nlung lup.

The chyawng lup, monastery, tomb, is copied from the Burmese monasteries. It is a simple little room, square and measuring three or four metres on the sides and in height. The nlung lup, stone-tomb, is a small monument in stone, roughly imitated from the Chinese tombs. In general, they content themselves with placing the stones one on top of the other without any masonry. However in some rare cases, when the defunct is a great lord or a rich plebeian, Chinese workmen are sent for to cut the stones and erect a tomb after their fashion. The latter is then a fine figure and is provided with two places, one for the actual defunct and the other for his wife when she dies.

Whilst the work of the erection of the monument is going on, good care is take to clean up the surroundings and chiefly to cut down or at least to kill by jagging the large trees, the roots of which might reach the deceased; for there exists a conviction that the parts of the latter thus reached would also suffer in their descendants, who, as the case may be, would become blind, dumb, etc. Towards three or four o'clock they take on the spot the meal of the day and at once around the tomb, the funereal dance called lup naugdawng manau takes place. The leaders, generally the same who direct the naugdawng manau at the house, imitate the operations demanded for the erection of the monument; whilst the young people trip over the traces of their steps, naugdawng pye de, as they have already been seen doing. With music they return to the mortuary house and in front the dance and the noise go on. The crowd increases, for it is chiefly that evening that relatives and friends arrive from distant villages to be present on the morrow which is the principal day of the funeral. They announce their coming by firing guns at the entrance of the village and redouble the detonations as they draw nearer and nearer; they offer their gifts to the defunct and join in the rejoic-

ings which like the day before go on all through the night.

4. Third Day—Shawa htu de

In common, shawa, they dig, htu de, a trench, lup hka, around the tomb.

At the break of day there is the sacrifice to the tsu of the largest buffalo that is destined for him and which often is the animal for which the defunct had a particular liking. Dances and uproar follow the breakfast, the leaders of the naugdawng manau change again roles and now simulate the rebuilding of the house which they had broken down in the beginning. Then whilst the artists finish the kaprawng, cut two figures of birds out of wood and daub the whole with colours, the greater part of the assistants, always music ahead, go to the tomb. There the finish is given to the monument if so needed and a ditch is dug more or less large, as the case may be, around the hkingchyang. It is often nearly two metres deep by as much in breadth, it is left incomplete and two or three feet remain untouched, if the defunct died before being able to settle some important affair of murder, theft, arson, etc.

His sons pledge themselves to obtain justice or vengeance before completing it.

Some Kachins pretend that this ditch has for object to prevent the rain water from reaching the defunct. Others, with greater probability, say that it is cut to mark the spot and to allow the descendants to know the place where the forefathers repose. As it is, the wooden construction soon disappears, but there remain for a very long time the traces of the ditch. None are dug at the nlung lup which are of a lasting material, and it is found enough to place a row of big stones around the chyawng lup.

When the work at the tomb is done, they dance round it a last time, and they repair to the dwelling for the day's meal. After that the rejoicings are resumed; the leaders of the nangdawng manau feign to finish the construction of the house which began in the morning. This done, there is the end of the manau; the two conductors, to manifest their repugnance at having to play such a part, direct their steps towards the forest where they throw away their lances, which another person soon goes to pick up and deposit near the mang jang. There is then a little respite; besides, the night is at hand and part of the crowd withdraws. This is the moment for the preparation of a special rice for the great journey of the deceased. The hkingjawng himself grinds, as they say, that viaticum, mana dawt de (dawt, to grind).

He orders the sword and knapsack to be suspended at the first post of the portico of the house, and to place alongside a brand and a fragment of a kettle. He himself, near the mangjang seizes with the right hand a fan and with the left a basket holding a handful of rice. Looking angry and mad he traverses the house whilst striking four times the boarded floor with the fan and the basket and exclaiming each time: but I cannot grind the mana, let me not prepare any more!

Arrived under the portico, he pretends to husk the rice, to fan it and to roast it over the brand in the bit of pot; seeing that he does not succeed, he throws far away fire, fragment, basket, fan and even a little of the rice; what remains of it he wraps in a leaf and he places it in the knapsack which once more he suspends with the sword above the mangjang. Soon after the priest in the name of the family offers to the tsu a hen called mahka, that is to say, separation hen, and he intimates to him not to think any more of his people, whom he is on the point of leaving.

At supper he presents him still with as many portions of rice soup, hpa, as there are members of the family (the rice soup is a favourite dish of the departed).

Then they betake themselves to the kabung dum, but with the lords it does not take long. After having gone through it with regularity for a little while, the tam-tams are beaten on a different tone and they dance out of order four turns only; with leader ahead they go out uttering savage yells and throw away in the wood mallets and castanets. This is what they call sat de, to kill the kabung dum. The plebeians, at least among the Kauris, continue this rejoicing most part of the night and finish it in the same way.

CHAPTER V

THE SENDING OF THE SOUL TO THE ANCESTORS TSU SHABAWN ÐE

The ceremony of the tsu shabawn de varies for the lord and the commoner. Let us first treat of the lords.

1. Lords' Souls

Leave is given to the lords the night of the shawa htu de, because, some Kachins say, the soul of those high personages, like after all several Nats, reposes at day time and is active in the dark.

At the end of the kabung dum the priest divides between the dead and the living the merits or riches attached to the execution of the nandawng manau. This formality is called naugdawng karan de (karan, to divide).

The defunct, whom we remember was represented by the leader manau wa, has played so to say the principal part in the dance naugdawng manau, he now is to receive his reward. The dumsa comes out of the house and sits down on his stool in front of the portico. He holds in his left hand the old lance of which the director of the manau made use, and in the right hand the one which the representative of the living carried : near the latter, on a fine tray of bamboo work, the hkingjawng places a goblet of beer, a small quantity of the best rice and some good seeds of the principal pulses of the country, near the first a vessel of water, empty rice and bad seeds. The priest then, addressing the soul of the deceased and his three forefathers that were evoked at the time of the demise, offers them the gifts at his left, saying : " This is your share, take it away and above all close well the door of death," etc., and he throws far away lance, water and seeds, (the lance alone later on

is picked up and becomes part of the salary of the leader of the manau). Afterwards he passes on to the sons of the deceased the gifts at his right by wishing them health, riches, numerous offspring, etc. The children drink at once the beer and at the proper season sow the seeds which they hope to see producing in an extraordinary manner.

After the division of the goods of the nandawng, the priest in the name of the family still offers up a last cock to the tsu, which is called sharawt u, cock of the departure. He after that signifies to him to pack up his things, to leave through a crack in the boarded floor or in the partition and to wait in front of the house till he points out to him the road to go by for rejoining his ancestors. At the same time the hkingjawng picks up all the objects and provisions for the defunct's journey and goes to deposit them or suspend them on the first post of the portico. The dumsa then exorcises the fireplace which the deceased used, or takes the extinguished brands which are thrown outside to go with the luggage of the soul. Still they are not sure that it has left the house; in order to drive it out, and also to hinder the minla of the living to follow it, the dumsa and the hkingjawng attach a little rice and meat at the two ends of a long thread; the hkingjawng catches hold of one and goes to sit down near the door with his face turned towards the interior; the priest keeps the other and establishes himself on his stool near the mangjang. With the right hand he throws his lance on the thread as if to drive away the tsu to which he signifies to take the end which the hkingjawng holds and to pass outside; with the left he shakes a fan to attract to himself and keep back by the bait at the end of the thread the souls of the living; when he thinks that he has collected them all, he stretches well the thread and cuts it close to his hand : if the extremity of the long part which the hkingjawng holds turns back towards the door, it is a sign

that the defunct is gone; if on the contrary the end of the thread remains directed to the dumsa, the latter concludes from it that the tsu is still inside and does not care to go. In order to force him to clear, the priest starts frightening him: "Here it is full of worms, serpents, wild boars, etc., leave quickly, if thou dost not care to be bitten by them." "We have given thee everything," the children add. "There is nothing left to offer to thee, go and join the ancestors," etc. The dumsa again extends the thread, cuts it and if the extremity points to the door, it means the departure of the defunct; if it does not, new threats and prayers, until the end of the thread is favourable. When the priest is certain at last that the tsu is outside, he rises without leaving the spot, takes the lance of the journey, puts under his feet a burnt brand and a ritual sword, then he addresses the defunct in something like these words: "We gave thee solemn obsequies with karoi, kabungdum, nangdawng manau, tomb, etc.; we have offered thee so many hens, pigs, buffaloes, etc., we still give thee a kaprawng and these two emblems of birds to sell on the road; take all these objects, these provisions for the journey and chiefly all the evil omens and go to thy great-grandfather as thou passest by thy sepulchre and those of thy father and grandfathers." If it is a woman, the priest sends her to her husband and in case he is still alive, to the spot whither he is to go after he dies. The children he despatches to their father or grandfather.

In days gone by, they had the funeral of the defunct then; nowadays they accompany his soul as far as his own tomb. To spare him the fatigue, they pass on to him the horse which he used to ride, led by a slave dressed in the dead man's clothes and carrying his favourite objects: knapsack, sword, gun, etc. For want of a slave, it is a son or relation that leads the animal;

if the defunct had no horse, he starts on foot, for never is any borrowed for this ceremony.

A number of people of both sexes accompany him, but no children; some carrying the wood of the mangjan and the bamboo which represents the body; the others the head of the buffaloes that have been immolated, the many baskets that held the chickens that were offered, the kaprawng, the two bird emblems, packets of chewing tobacco, a hen and a live cock, all sorts of seeds of country vegetables, one or two baskets of provisions, etc. If there is no moonlight, they carry lighted torches on the way and many guns are fired as much for vanity's sake as to scare the tsu and to oblige him to decamp.

A priest, not the officiating one, also accompanies, not to lead or honour the defunct, but in order that on returning he may bring back home the souls of the living. On the road, to give some rest to the dead, they halt two or three times according to the distance and at each halt they empty a basket and make a small meal of the contents, comprising beer, rice and a bit of the meat of the cock of the departure.

Having reached the place of the burial, the kaprawng is put on the top of the tomb on the buffalo heads with the hen baskets on the sides; to the right and to the left a long bamboo is planted at the end of which they attach a streamer and a bird's figure: all round they sow for the benefit of the defunct seeds of maize, pepper, pumpkin, egg-plants, etc.; for his use also they let the cock and the hen free and even sometimes the horse he rode. Formerly the latter was killed, if it appeared often at the house; now they hasten to sell it to make some money out of it before the defunct has caused it to die.

At the head of the grave they place rice, beer and a quantity of tobacco and other ingredients to make quids; but of these quids they take away a good number

to distribute among all the people. The knapsack and the sword of the deceased are hung up at the tomb. Finally the people retire purifying arms and legs with leaves, as we saw being done after the burial, and exclaiming: "May we not have any more such business to go through and henceforth work only to earn money."

After the crowd has left, the dumsa who has followed, assumes the duty of bringing back to their owners the souls that could stay with the defunct. For this, whilst running through the formulas used to bring back the wandering minla, he turns twice round the tomb depositing pinches of rice flour which has the virtue of attracting the loitering souls. When he has collected them: "Let us go back, he says, it is full of mosquitoes here and of serpents, it grows cold," etc. He takes the road to the village and spreads a little flour first at about five metres distance, then at each ten and so on at greater distances as he gradually approaches the mortuary house. The minla led by the fine flavour of the food which they relish do not tarry to rejoin their respective partner.

The next day they do not fail to go early and inspect the pinches of flour. If all are found intact it is the best sign that no soul has left its companion. If there are that have slipped in the direction of the tomb to the village, it is proof that some loitering minla has had the good sense to return; but if the flour is scattered in the direction from the village to the tomb, the omen is very bad; some soul has gone to join the defunct and his absence will soon cause a new death. On an even number day after the despatch of the tsu, generally the sixth or the eighth, the relatives and friends gather still round the tomb to finish the obsequies, shatsim de. A pig is offered up for the dead or a buffalo on which they feed on the spot, then they return home, taking with them the knapsack and the sword of the deceased, if as in former times they were left hanging at the mausoleum

until then; but nowadays, lest the passers-by carry them away, they generally take them along when they return from escorting the soul to the tomb. They are kept with care in the room of the deceased, but used, however, in case of need.

2. People's Souls

The dismissal of the souls differs according to the tribes. I am told that elsewhere several clans send their dead off solely to the tombs of the last forefathers, in general to the great-grandfather. The ceremony takes place at night nearly in the same manner as for the lords, but with less solemnity; the tsu is not taken on horseback and there is no halt on the road; at the tomb they do not set a couple of chickens free, they plant, however, round it all sorts of pulses. A dumsa is present in order to bring, on his return, the loitering souls back home. The obsequies are then finished and there is no shatsim de some days later.

Here the Kauris despatch the deceased to Katsan ka, a far away country which their ancestors inhabited at first. The ceremony takes place the day after the shawa htu de. In the morning already the departure cock is offered to the deceased, then the dumsa divides the goods of the nandawng manau. Finally towards 11 o'clock or midday commences the great journey of the deceased. The priest in atsi language, incomprehensible to the crowd, indicates to the soul the road to take and the obstacles to keep clear of (*see Religion*). It is escorted up to the tomb where the formalities already described are gone through. Only no dumsa follows to bring back the wandering minla. The reason given me by some Kachins is that the Katsan ka is so far away that there is no danger that the souls of the living will accompany the deceased.

CHAPTER VI

SEQUEL TO THE FUNERAL

1. General Purification

The obsequies wind up with a general purification. It commences at once after the departure of the deceased for the tomb. The officiating dumsa puts some water in a small vessel and with a raspberry-bush twig sprinkles it on the house, inmates, tamtams and whatever has been used at the funeral ceremonies. On their return he also purifies the persons that have escorted the tsu; lastly he purifies his own self, expressing the wish that he may never preside any more at funerals. He ends by exorcising the water that has been used at the purification and by expediting it to the confines of the world.

2. Settlement of Accounts

On the night or on the day when the obsequies end, the salary of the different officers is settled.

For the high born, the priest receives as the case may be between 8 to 40 shillings and for the lower class from 4 to 16 shillings. The hkingjawng has a right to about half of the wages of the dumsa; the conductor of the manau, the steward of the house and the other assistants receive from 1 to 4 shillings. Seldom are they paid at once and in silver; but most of the time, little by little, and with clothes, lances, tamtams, animals, etc.

The Mayu and Dama of the family ask also for a compensation of the regulation presents which they have made.

The former have generally offered a lance and a ritual sword, a pot, a necklace, sometimes a gun or other articles which constitute a woman's dowry. They expect to receive a piece of clothing, a tamtam, a buffalo and

other objects which come within the price paid for a woman.

If the latter have come forward with some of these last mentioned articles, they do not depart without one of the former ones.

This exchange of gifts does not always pass off quietly, and often is the origin of many petty quarrels.

Finally, that day, too, the creditors of the family appear to get payment, or at least acknowledgment of the debts which the deceased has left behind.

3. Deification of the Tsu

After the funeral the tsu of the aged persons is raised to the dignity of domestic Nat.

That deification takes place in a different way according to the fact of the soul of the deceased having been sent :

(*a*) to the tomb of the great grandfather,

(*b*) to the distant region of the Katsan ka.

(*a*). In the first case they wait for the tsu to present himself of his own accord and ask to be treated as Nat; he does not delay in soliciting that honour by biting some member of the family. At the first indisposition that is felt, a priest is called to find out the cause of it, and his answer naturally is that it is the soul of the deceased which wants to be made domestic spirit. They hasten to satisfy him. They put a goblet for him on the permanent altar in the room of the sprites and they give him the presents required. From that time they do not call him any longer tsu but ji or ji nat; he is honoured instead of the grandfather or the grandmother whose cult is left off from that moment.

The lords, however, go on making sacrifices to their forefathers, not in the house, but at the namshang,

sacred wood which is at the entrance and at the end of each village.

(*b*). The deification of the tsus that are sent off to Katsan ka is done at once after the obsequies. When those that have accompanied the deceased have returned to the mortuary house, two men go to take back, sa ba de, the soul of the deceased, one of them brings the sword of ceremony, shatung ri, the other a piece of cloth with a little cooked rice, a goblet of beer and a fresh fish. In order not to be sullied, they must avoid meeting the loiterers that return from the tomb and at their sight hide in the wood.

Having reached the burial place they spread out on the ground near the grave at the side of the head the piece of cloth and offer to the tsu the eatables, saying: "Wicked soul, do not come; good soul, enter into this cloth." When they think it present, they wrap it up and one of them settles it on his back as they do with infants and carries it home. Under the portico a hkingjawng comes to receive it in his arms, introduces it into the sanctuary of the sprites and deposits it before the bamboo goblet prepared for it; a priest purifies it, shakrin de, offers gifts to it and establishes it in the place of the father and mother who go back to the Katsan ka.

After that the cloth that has done for a swaddle is carefully examined; if nothing is found in it, it is a good enough sign, but it is a better omen if some hair or hairs, or some dung of an ox, buffalo or pig, hen feathers, grains of rice, etc., are found. They are preserved with care and a numerous offspring is expected, many domestic animals, a good harvest, etc. The omen is very bad if the cloth contains an ant, a worm, a cricket, etc.

The souls of children and of young persons are not deified. Presents, however, and occasional sacrifices are

made to them when a dumsa declares that their tsu bites and causes some indisposition.

For most of the Kachins the soul that is entertained at the sanctuary of the spirits is the same as the one that has been sent to the Katsan ka. Those of whom I asked how it could be that the same spirit goes to the ancestors and remains in the house as well, they replied : kani gaw, we do not know.

Some few priests explain the anomaly by saying that each individual has two or several souls, of which at death one goes to the Katsan ka and the other becomes domestic Nat.

4. Recall of the Home Nats

Five or six days after the obsequies there is a small rejoicing to recall the home Nats that had been expelled on the day of the death.

A priest summons them, announces to them the end of the funeral ceremonies, purifies their goblets and offers them beer together with a hen, a pig or a buffalo according to the resources of the family, begging of them to keep better watch over their protégés.

So end the solemn obsequies; they are much in use and every Kachin appreciates them. The rich people celebrate them still with more pomp, chiefly the last rejoicings. The poor shorten them a little; but everyone wishes to honour by them at least one's parents, who without them would be wiped off the list of the ancestors.

CHAPTER VII

OTHER BURIALS

1. Postponement of the Solemn Obsequies

If the death occurs during the rains, when people are at work in the fields, often the obsequies are put off to the next good season after the cutting of the rice.

Those also who have not at once wherewith to cover the expenses of the funeral ceremonies, which are always considerable, put them off sometimes to the following year or very much later.

Then the demise is not notified by gun-firing or by tamtam, the domestic Nats are not expelled and no dumsa is called. The near relations alone and friends of the departed do the toilet of the body, put some money in his mouth, prepare a coffin and without any ceremony inter it in silence, as it is called, atsin lup de.

Then at the house they do not consider the defunct as dead, but as a man alive, who slumbers in his particular room near his sack, sword and other belongings. Every day at meal-time he is presented with his share of rice which afterwards the persons of age, not the young people, are allowed to eat. When they wish to have the funeral, they announce it with pomp; the domestic spirits are turned out, and the priest is called to evoke the ancestors and to preside at the funeral ceremonies. A bamboo represents the body of the deceased; he is stretched on a mat or carpet in the chamber of the spirits and then commence all the doings and mortuary rites already known : Karoi, mangjang, nandawng manau, kabung dum, etc., which end up with the festivities of the mang makoi de, the sending of the soul to the ancestors and its deification at the sanctuary of the domestic Nats.

2. Simple Funeral

Some very poor families cannot always honour their dead with a solemn funeral. They then content themselves with a simple interment which lasts only one or two days.

They bury likewise without show most of the little children. Their death is not made known by tamtam; the domestic spirits are not sent away; only their goblets are covered with a mat.

A dumsa notifies the demise of the defunct without evoking his ancestors; the toilet is made of the body which is laid out, not in the room of the Nats, but at the rubbish place near the entrance door. A coffin is made ready and sometimes a small karoi. There is no mangjang, no nangdawng manau, kabung dum, no other solemn rejoicing.

The priest offers the defunct a hen or a small pig with a little rice and beer and sends him at once to the Katsan ka. They then simply inter him and a little tomb is put up for him. They do not go to take his soul back for deification; anybody, even of age, thus buried without festivity, is not considered as an ancestor, not evoked at the death of his grandchildren and the priest does not send on to him a single soul of the descendants.

3. Death Outside the Village

When a Kachin dies out of the village on a journey or employed elsewhere, the relations bring the body back to the house, if the distance is not too great, and hold the solemn or simple obsequies according to their condition.

When the place of demise is at a distance, they bury or get the body to be buried on the spot, but they bring back, if possible, the knapsack and the sword of the

dead man. In default of these, they substitute new ones, and with these articles and a piece of bamboo they begin the ceremonies, as if the body were present; a dumsa calls for the soul of the deceased, tells him of his demise and carries out all the mortuary practices already known. They even erect a tomb on a favourable spot, and they carry there the bamboo that represents the body of the dead.

The same is done for the funeral of one gone far away of whose death they hear long after the occurrence.

4. Death at Childbirth—Ndang si de

Elsewhere I have spoken (*see Birth*) of the ceremonies reserved for the women dying at childbirth or subsequently to it. I only add a word concerning men who are also said ndang or nmat si de, when at their death they leave their wife pregnant; she bears the blame of it, and sometimes the defunct the punishment. In former times and in similar cases the soothsayer was consulted and according to his answer the corpse was either burnt or not burnt. Nowadays ordinary obsequies are given to the defunct, whose soul is sent to the land of the forefathers.

5. Violent Death—Lasa si de

Are called lasa si de all persons that die by a violent death, *i.e.* drowned, burnt, killed at war or in a row, crushed by a tree, devoured by a wild animal, etc.

Violent death is attributed to the lasa Nats (*see Mythology*) whose presence sullies the whole village, with persons and things.

They give the pigs the rice already cooked, they throw away the drawn water and no one partakes of a meal before a dumsa has purified the whole.

Even all work is stopped in order not to bring on the misfortune which the lasa would certainly cause. Immediately after the accident an old priest (not a young one, who is too much afraid) goes to the house of the deceased, attaches a little live chicken to the end of a rod and shakes it in every direction to attract by that bait the evil sprites and in that manner purifies the whole community.

The dead man is generally buried without a coffin, near the place where he perished, in a ravine which is not frequented.

If he be a lord, a bier without a tuft, ujan, is made and he is buried in a nice spot. The young people do not take part in the work nor in the funeral meals. Only some persons of age and friends do the business.

When the burial place is near, the dumsa and the hkingjawng betake themselves to it, leading with the chicken the soul of the deceased and the lasa that caused his death; if it is too far, they only go to a neighbouring ravine and there, as near the grave, kill the little chicken, offer it up to the spirits in a handful of thatch put in the ground and send the latter back with their new companion to their far away residence with their original ancestors, sahti du wa sawa du chauhpa, (*see Religion*).

No tomb is erected to the deceased, but his knapsack and sword are left behind on the spot. However if these articles are of value they are taken back and sold at reduced price to the Chinese or other people, who do not know where they come from.

As regards the house the dumsa purifies it and the people continue to live in it.

To die a violent death and to be sent to the lasa is not only a misfortune for the deceased, but also a great shame for the whole family, so that if it is a lordly one

or rich enough, it takes care to redeem its unfortunate member at once after the burial or later on when its means allow.

Then a dumsa goes in the spirit to the lasa, bargains with the chief, offers up to him in the wood the expected pig or buffalo and brings back the soul to the parental house. Immediately he is honoured with solemn obsequies, and even with a tomb in a nice spot, and he is sent off to the ancestors just as if the death had been a natural one.

6. Death in Insanity—Mana si de

Idiots and insane are called mana and are considered as victims of the Jahtungs of insanity, the principal ones of which and the most dreaded are Lep mu lep mai and Pilawn Pilai (*see Mythology*). Thus at the death of a mana, village, water, rice, everything becomes impure; an old priest comes and purifies the house with a chicken at the end of a stick, and by help of this bait leads the spirits of insanity and the soul of the deceased to the bottom of a ravine or where the burial takes place. The interment is done as soon as it is ever possible; no coffin is prepared; besides few are the people that come and help.—The young ones are too much afraid and even stop all work for fear of being bitten by the Jahtungs. The children of the deceased run off elsewhere, and among the relations barely a few aged persons are to be found to perform the last duties. The defunct is wrapped up in a mat and with all his personal things carried to the chosen ravine. There they dig a deep pit and the dead man is buried standing straight up, with a stone under his feet and a tamtam on his head, if a high-born; an old pot, if a plebeian. A hkingjawng kills the chicken alongside the pit and the dumsa offers it up in a handful of thatch to the soul of the deceased and to the sprites of

insanity; then he intimates to them to withdraw themselves to the mountain, kalang sen kawng bum, to their ancestor Lep mu lep mai (*see Religion*).

No tomb is made; they leave on the spot the chicken, and the personal articles of the deceased, and they go away whilst sacrificing on the road a little pig or a chicken to the marawng Nat.

On the return the priest blesses the house in order to make it habitable and offers gifts to the domestic Nats. Afterwards the soul of the insane cannot be ransomed; the grandfather of insanity is the least compliant of the spirits; the fate therefore of the insane is the worst of all.

7. Death by Cholera, Small-pox, Measles and Dysentery

The Kachins who die of these ailments are buried as soon as possible (*see Ailments*); those diseases are attributed to small outside Nats. The death is not announced, the dumsa is not called. Besides for fear of the spirits all the people run away from the house of death. There remain scarcely some old relatives to render the last duties to the defunct.

Often they bury him without a coffin and without any ceremony in a fine spot of the neighbourhood; as in general there are no persons enough to carry him far.

So as not to be bitten by the Nats, the authors of such deaths, the people of the next house go and stay for some time in their huts in the fields; at any rate around their dwellings and on the principal footpaths, they take good care to stretch some twine on which they hang ornaments of bamboo in the shape of stars, kapang, which have the power of stopping and keeping away the evil spirits.

As for the deceased, they consider him at the house not like one dead, but alive in a slumber.

After the epidemic has disappeared, they announce him his demise and honour him with solemn obsequies as if they simply had postponed the funeral rites.

8. Death of Bachelors

Voluntary celibacy is not known and few there are who cannot marry. Some rare cases, however, are found of old bachelors and old spinsters. In their life time they are ashamed of their condition and at their death they inspire fear chiefly to the young.

Their burial is almost always simple. When the family is well-to-do, they sometimes get solemn obsequies, but rapid also. Young men and young girls, for fear of not being able to settle themselves in the future, take no part either in the feasts or in the funeral meals; the ceremonies are chiefly done by the old men and women and in a somewhat ridiculous manner; the karoi is without streamers, the dances are done inside out, the tomb is covered with common fern, etc. The soul nevertheless is sent to the ancestors, since the death was a natural one.

Long ago, the barren were treated like the unmarried, nowadays they get the ordinary funeral.

9. Obsequies of the Officers of the Nats

The officers of the Nats, dumsa, hkingjawn, myithoi, etc., receive the honour of solemn obsequies, similar to those of the generality of the people, more or less pompous according to the rank of the dead man and the resources of the family. But for the myihtoi they generally wait till the seventh day to begin the funeral ceremonies.

Before that time and the evident signs of decomposition there is a fear that these personages are not really dead and are only on a journey to the land of the spirits.

10. Cremation

The body of the women that died in childbirth, and even the bones, are burnt and the ashes are left near the spot of the cremation.

As for their soul, it is sent to the Sawns (*see Religion and birth*).

They also destroy by fire those who die victims of a repugnant disease or a long-standing one, like leprosy, cancer, dropsy, etc. They hope thus to destroy the germ, kanu, of those maladies and hinder them from appearing again. Aged people alone do the needful. Generally the bones are not burnt up, but are collected in a jar which is buried close by in the neighbourhood. After that the defunct gets the ordinary obsequies and his soul is sent to the forefathers' place.

11. Mourning

Death naturally brings on some days of sadness during which relatives lament, stop working, and in the case of a shameful end avoid to appear in public. The tears are genuine. There are no hired mourners, male or female. In token of mourning no special dress is worn nor any particular mark; but the whole family must for some months, and at times for a year, abstain from eating panau, fermented fish, nanhpu, fermented beans, and shanhpu, fermented meat, because some will have it that those eatables or spices recall too much the deceased to mind; according to others, if those delicacies were used the soul of the deceased would lose its way and never reach the ancestors.

CHAPTER VIII

FATE OF THE TOMBS

1. Tombs of Lords

In former times (old people saw it in their younger days) at the obsequies of a lord, a family of slaves, which were freed by the very fact, were placed at his service. The family established itself near the tomb and for five or six years watched over it and kept it in good order. After that lapse of time they could go and live in any village they chose. Nowadays this practice exists no longer. After the funeral ceremonies, the mausoleums are no longer seen to and they soon fall in ruins.

The fine tombs made of stone which the Chinese workmen construct are the only ones that last long, and sometimes the relatives of the defunct cut the brushwood that grows around to allow the passers-by to see and admire them. The place of a lordly tomb becomes as it were sacred under the name of mada kawng. They avoid setting it on fire or to cultivate it within a radius of from 30 to 50 metres for fear of displeasing the deceased and bringing vengeance on the whole village.

That is why little by little the spot is covering with large trees which may be used in the construction of houses, with the exception, however, of those within the circle formed by the great ditch, lup hka.

2. Tombs of the People

The people abandon their tombs at once after the funeral, which soon cease to inspire fear and the soil may be put under cultivation up to the ditch or the stones that are round it. As for the vegetables that are sown around the funeral monuments, they rarely prosper, because they are put down out of season and in an ill-prepared soil; if they fructify, the fruits may be gathered by people of age; but most of the time they are eaten up by wild or domestic animals.

CHAPTER IX

INHERITANCE

What the parents leave to the children generally is not much; the well-to-do often bequeath small fields, some oxen or buffaloes, tamtams, at times some money, etc.

The poor (and they are the greater number), happy if they have no debts, often leave but their huts and domestic Nats for a legacy.

1. Property

It is usually during their life-time that parents divide their property among their male children, not on the occasion of their marriage, but when they leave the paternal roof to go and found a new household. It is generally the youngest son, called uma or hpungdim, as long as he is lord or a plebeian, who inherits the house on condition he takes care of the old parents and meets the major part of the funeral expenses.

In noble families, the youngest son alone succeeds to his father as lord of the village, and gets the right to collect the tithes paid by the people. When his elder brothers are on good terms with him, they sometimes remain at the palace and naturally enjoy somewhat the seigneurial privileges. But to be in reality a lord and to gather the taxes they must with their party establish a new village elsewhere. Formerly they often did so; to-day the English law seems reasonably to be against the multiplying of communities. When the parents die young or the mother alone survives, it is the eldest son, who takes the family in hand and assisted by his uncles or arbitrators he shares the paternal property with his brothers. Then by right, he sees a trifle to his own interests.

If one dies without children or leaves girls only, the property passes over to his brothers or to his nephews, the sons of brothers; because it must not go out of the family. Women have no right to the real estate of the parents and are generally satisfied with the jewelry with which they were decked for their marriage.

2. Nats

The youngest son in keeping the paternal house inherits also all the family sprites; but as it is supposed that they may be present in various places at a time or at least in several houses, the elder ones bring them all or the principal ones along when they settle a new home, on the day when they take solemnly possession of their habitation (*see Habitation*).

Then at the paternal dwelling a hkingjawng prepares a new goblet for each Nat and places it alongside of the old one; a dumsa offers beer to the sprites and he tells them to guard as well the house of the son who goes away. This one or in default of him a member of the family gathers afterwards the old goblets, puts them in a basket which he wraps up in cloth and places it on his back as a little child and accompanied by the ministers brings them with the sprites to their new sanctuary. The priest instals them, offers them again some beer and begs of them to watch well over their protégés.

The lords when they quit the paternal palace, like the common people, carry away in the same manner the ordinary domestic Nats. But as regards the La 'n Roi Madai, the great master of heaven (*see Mythology*) there are formalities to go through which keep off the ceremony; often it takes place only ten or twenty years later, when the son, who has gone his own way (or his descendant) has succeeded in becoming true lord of some village and has wherewith to buy the famous spirit.

In order to get possession of him he must in fact give in payment to his younger brother (or to his successor) a horse or a big tamtam. There is a great feast for the community on the day he goes to fetch it; a high priest, jai wa, at the principal palace offers up to Madai a dried fish and a quantity of beer in new goblets near the old ones. These the lord, who does the buying, envelops in a silken vestment which the other lord procures, puts them on his back and being followed by the jaiwa and a large crowd carries them to his palace with numerous tamtams and drum-beating. The high priest instals the great spirit on his new altar and in his own particular chamber, makes him more presents and the evening and the whole night are spent in rejoicings.

PART VII

DISEASES AND THEIR REMEDIES

CHAPTER I

DISEASE AMONG THE KACHINS

1. Frequency and Number

The Kachin is of a very robust constitution, which permits him to keep his health and even to thrive under unfavourable circumstances. In reality everything contributes to make the struggle for life hard for him : bad and often insufficient nourishment, unhealthy dwellings, scarcity of clothes to protect himself against the inclemencies of the seasons, hard work and often in unwholesome places, absolute ignorance of the primary notions of hygiene and of the healing art, etc., so that sickness often visits those poor people and makes even, among the young, numbers of victims. Those who are not carried away at an early period, are already old at the age of 40 and 50 years, few go beyond 60, some very, very rare in number, reach 70 or 80. You find numerous idiots, half-witted creatures, deaf-mutes and deformed either by nature or by accident. They are not badly treated, but people do not or cannot give them the care they might need, and the greater number of them succumb from their infancy.

Goitre is very common with the two sexes, it often grows to great proportions and sometimes is nearly as large as the head. Black small-pox appears at times, old people remembering having seen it as an epidemic; they recollect a small number only of isolated cases of cholera.

Chicken-pox and measles break out rather often. Few lepers are to be found.

The most common sickness is fever in one or another of its different forms and with it the ordinary train of sufferings.

I must now give in Kachin fashion the cause and remedies of the most common evils.

2. Causes and Treatment

The natural causes of diseases are not known. They are all or almost all attributed to the Nats, who, to get themselves fed by men, obtain from Karai Kasang the permission to bite the vital nerve, sumri, of the human beings or to carry far away their soul, minla. The person attacked falls sick immediately and recovers health only by satisfying the sprites.

A dumsa then is called in to discover the culprit or culprits and to offer them in the name of the patient the requisite gifts : hens, pigs, buffaloes, etc.

Part of the victims or other special offerings, for never is a sacrifice made to one sprite alone, are at the same time presented to the friends of the personage which they wish to appease, to the domestic sprites and to the Nats they dread most.

If the patient does not recover quickly or grows worse, they come to the conclusion that the former sprites are not yet soothed or that others have intervened, and the consultations of the soothsayer are done afresh, and of course the sacrifices. For want of the requisite victims, they solemnly pledge themselves to the Nats, by the interposition of a priest, to offer them later on and they faithfully fulfil the vow as soon as they have the means.

When the disease gets complicated with delirium and unconsciousness, this novel state is put down to the separation of the soul from the body, as they think the minla can go chiefly during sleep and take a stroll of his own accord, or be carried away by the sprites.

If a soothsayer declares that it is the Nats that keep the soul captive, it is delivered by a good banquet.

When the supposition is that the minla is on a journey, a dumsa, or for want of him, the people present look for him and call him in a loud voice, first in the

neighbourhood of the house; some then go with a small basket of provisions on the footpaths and to the woods shouting: "Minla of such a one, remain no longer in the forest where the mosquitoes bite and tigers devour; come back home to meet thy friends, to drink this brandy; to eat these eggs, this meat, etc." When they think that they have discovered him, he is brought back home and given a small meal.

If the sick person continues to be unconscious, recourse is had to the domestic sprites; a priest gives or promises them eggs, dry fish, hens, etc., and sends them in pursuit of the absent minla with mission to bring him back from whatever spot of the heavens or the earth they may meet him in.

Professional doctors the Kachins have none. Many small quacks, however, are to be found who by their breath and magical formulas pretend to cure certain diseases, chiefly wounds and sores; other individuals treat by applications or lotions of leaves and roots of plants, with or without words of charm, mandan, but all of them have other avocations and only occasionally make use of their drugs. The real doctors of the country, who take health away or give it back are the Nats; so that the relations and friends make it their first and chief business to appease them and curry their favour; in order to frighten and drive away the small evil sprites, they stretch sometimes around the house, at a height of about two metres, a long cord or bamboo strip, throw often inside the enclosure handfuls of husked rice, and never fail to put near the patient a pair of swords and ceremonial lances. These old weapons have also for object to attract the attention and the protection of the Karai Kasan on the vital nerve in danger.

The patient is watched well enough, but none knows how to nurse him. When they have prepared for him some tea and some rice soup, sometimes with a little meat

or dried fish, they do not know further what to give him. So that most of the time he gets the ordinary food and is made to eat everything possible in order that he may not die of inanition. Besides they allow him to take everything he shows a fancy for, in particular wild fruits which abound in the country. Finally they prevent him from sleeping and they keep him in a sitting position with his face turned towards the interior of the house, lest the soul during sleep leave the body and perhaps go far away never to return.

Thus ordinary fevers, headaches, chest complaints, heart and lung diseases, etc., rheumatisms, convulsions, dropsy, paralysis, insanity, epilepsy, etc., are explained away and treated.

These illnesses are supposed to originate from the Nats and to be as it were indigenous in this country; the people consider them as their lot, an inevitable consequence of their pantheon of spirits. Naturally the violent ailments are attributed to the dreadful Nats: Mushen, thunder, Bungphoi, Lasa, Sawn, Jathun, Phyi, etc. Indispositions are rather the doings of the small sprites, Marawng, souls of the ancestors, etc.

The Nats or at least their priests in their exactions understand how to distinguish between persons. Of the rich they ask much; they are satisfied with little if the patient is poor; thus the dumsas know very well and in advance the condition of their clients and, as the case may be, order great or small banquets, offer willingly their services to the well-to-do, but often require much coaxing to answer the call of the poor. The Kachins themselves often comment on the manner of acting of their priests; sometimes they give up their ministration of which they are not satisfied, but it is but to confide in somebody else, for the existence and the influence of their Nats are never questioned.

3. Foreign Diseases

Cholera, thawktang, black-pox, wumba or nampan achyang, chicken-pox, nampan aphranng, measles, naphwi or aphrut, dysentery, daren, and the cold, awaw, are considered as foreign diseases or simple visitors. They are attributed to small Nats or shadows of the dead among the Chinese, Shans or Burmese. It is with these people that these malign sprites have their habitual residence and find their victims; but they may, like the Kachins that pass through their territory, accompany them on their return, and get thus on to the mountains and try to ravage them.

To get rid of such visitors, they treat them first as friends, and they send them back with presents to the land of their origin. They do not generally have recourse to the ministry of the dumsas, who are supposed to have no influence on the foreign Nats. But the family of the sick man prepares rice and a good curry, which they place with two goblets of beer in two new small baskets. They decorate the latter with nice flowers and fix one to each end of a stick. The whole is deposited near the patient and a relation, a friend, man or woman, addressing the marauding minla: "We Kachins," he says, "are poor people and have not the means to entertain thee, go back to thy country among the Chinese, Shans or Burmese, who are rich and give thee good feasts; for thy journey, here are these provisions." He places then the two baskets on the shoulder in Shan fashion and in silence, and avoided by everyone, chiefly by the children, who are in dread of the stranger Nat, he accompanies the enemy until out of the village to the path that leads to the plain; there he deposits the presents on the side of the road, wishes the visitor a pleasant journey, recommends him well not to appear again and gets back home in the hope of seeing the patient soon cured. But if the patient grows worse, they conclude

that the wandering minla continues to bite him and does not care to go. Then a priest is called who in the name of the family prays the domestic sprites to drive away the stranger.

In case the disease spreads to the village and makes several victims, the whole community at the namshang offers public sacrifices to the Kachin Nats to persuade them to drive the enemy back.

It is chiefly the sprite of black-pox and of cholera that causes the scare on these mountains. According to the old people, at the time of its last outbreak at Kuthung some thirty years ago, black-pox carried away half of the village, and there were as many deaths as there were cases; so that a great portion of the community, chiefly the young people, went to stay in the field cabins or with friends far away. There remained at home only old people or those that had already had chicken-pox. The sick were not kept in the house, but at the first symptoms they were relegated to hovels in the midst of the wood; some very poor people went from time to time to ask how they were, to bring them some food, and at their death to bury them at once on the spot and in mats only, for there was no time or there were no people in sufficient number to prepare the coffins.

No one here has recollection of a cholera epidemic; were it to happen it is quite probable that they would act in the same way as for chicken-pox. Last year I saw two isolated cases. A fellow landed at Bhamo where cholera was raging; he returned thence with the germs of the terrible sickness, received the first usual care from his parents and friends, who were ignorant of the nature of the evil; but on death occurring, they guessed what it was and took at once to flight; there remained but his wife, his father, his mother and an old uncle to render him the last rites and to bury him, which they did as soon as ever possible, with no one to help them. They all

had a dread of the cholera sprite and they imagined to stop it by stretching strings at all the footpaths which came from the side of the house; the neighbours did as much around their dwellings and went to stay for some days in the forest to make sure to avoid him.

A week later another person coming up from the plains showed signs of cholera. He was at once considered as attacked by a dreadful evil and he was left in the sole charge of his wife and children : even his own brothers ran away from the house and waited for his full convalescence to pay him a short visit.

In the case of measles and chicken-pox, the patient is nursed at home and people do not keep away; because these diseases in general are not fatal. Thus now and again almost everybody is attacked. Often enough they inoculate with the small-pox of a person that has it, one that is unharmed, who then is liable to suffer less and has hopes of being free of the black-pox for the future.

Nowadays the English Government introduces vaccination among the Kachins and finds no trouble in getting it accepted.

Dysentery is not common. When it is sent back to its country, they content themselves with offerings of flowers and fruits, and nearly always entrust the domestic Nats with the care of chasing it away. They have also often recourse to the latter to get rid of colds which are frequent and often accompanied with fever; besides, neither public nor private sacrifices are ever made to implore for the Nats deliverance or preservation against the strange sprites.

A word about plague. It has not yet, at least to my knowledge, made its appearance on these mountains, but it begins to create its havoc in the surrounding plains and at Bhamo in particular. The Kachins do not saddle

this sickness on the sprites, but on the English who, to diminish the number of Chinese and other enemies, scatter on the roads a fatal drug. The Europeans are safe on account of their shoes, the natives, who go barefoot, cannot avoid the contact and die in great numbers. Probably some keen Kachin observer has discovered the mischief by seeing at Bhamo the localities being disinfected. The news spread quickly and at least all the Kauris know of it. I have not yet succeeded in making any of those who spoke to me about it understand that the drug that is scattered is a remedy against the plague. They seem even to be proud of having at an early hour discovered the cause of the scourge, and as a preservative against it they avoid going down to the plains when the rumour spreads that they are infected. How they will rid themselves of it the day they are attacked, they have not yet thought of it.

CHAPTER II

WITCHCRAFT AND SPELLS

Sickness is sometimes imputed to witchcraft and spells. The chief ones are: 1st, Matsa Kanu; 2nd, Tingshawng; 3rd, Lawng; 4th, Phyi; 5th, Kusa or Gawsa; 6th, Kausut or Shapawt.

1. Matsa Kanu

The Matsa Kanu (from matsa, curse, and kanu, mother) is the sprite itself of malediction, sprung as we have seen from Kringkrong and Ynong. It is very malignant, so that they have recourse to it to cause harm to enemies, often coupling it with Matsa Marawng, imp of malediction. When they wish to entrust Matsa Kanu with their vengeance, it is necessary first to gain his good graces. For this they offer a sacrifice to him outside the village, on the borders of a path or in the wood, by the side of a thick matsa phun (a tree called matsa), loved by the spirit of malediction, probably because its rugged bark produces the effect of prickings. Are only present a dumsa, a khingjawng and three or four assistants armed with guns and bamboo lances or with thick reeds. At the foot of the tree at the end of a stick the bust of Matsa Kanu is fixed in the soil; it is a thick root representing a head as horrible as can be, with long teeth and immense horns. The priest then evokes the sprite of malediction and offers him a dog or a pig with one or two hens. The butcher kills them with strokes of the cutlass and cuts out the genital parts and other pieces of flesh which delight the Matsu Kanu. Seven portions are set apart which are presented to him on leaves in the middle of some handfuls of straw stuck in the ground; for drink they give him in seven bamboo goblets muddy water mixed with urine, soot and juice of acid fruits and bitter herbs.

They give him time to regale himself with this, then the dumsa entrusts him with the intentions of his client and gives him all the informations and recommendations to succeed well. "Such a one has insulted such a one, this one cannot put up with such an affront and he charges thee, Matsa Kanu, to avenge him; follow this road, go to that house; if the front door is closed, go by the back-door or through a chink of the partition or of the wooden floor; do not show thyself to the domestic Nats who would drive thee away; hide well near the fire-place; at least accept no presents, then at a favourable moment bite such a one and make him perish." Then to excite the anger of the sprite of malediction and to get him to go soon and carry out his mandate, they fire at the trunk of the thick tree and poke it with their lances. If the projectiles enter easily into the wood and stick well in it, it is a sign that the Matsa Kanu is satisfied with the sacrifice and means to fulfil his mission. Again there is firing of guns when it is supposed that the sprite arrives at the village and enters the house. They withdraw with the full persuasion that they will soon be avenged.

The Matsa Kanu in general does not cause very serious illnesses, but he brings about a desire for sleep, takes away the appetite, produces belly-aches, vomiting of blood, etc. The sufferer is able to find out the guilty party through a soothsayer. In order to get rid of him, sacrifices are made to him to induce him to do harm; then with firing of guns they despatch him far away to the cavern in which he dwells or simply to the author of the spell if he has been discovered.

Everyone is in dread of the sprite of malediction. The old dumsa alone, in consideration of a big salary, consents to deal with him. He pollutes the village he goes to, and may bite all the inhabitants of it. Therefore, he is only sent, and even rarely, to the enemies of

far away localities; to avenge themselves on those of the neighbourhood, they resort to Tingshawng, less expensive and more expeditious.

2. Tingshawng

The Tingshawng consists of magic formulas which the priests recites in the wood or on the spot whilst throwing alternately water and ginger leaves which go and poison the food of the enemy and make him die immediately; there is no remedy for this witchcraft. Luckily it does not always work and produces then no bad result whatever. Some high dumsa alone knows it, but, at least for the present, they do not appear to make much use of it.

3. Lawng

The Lawng is performed by uttering charm words on objects which afterwards fly away into the chest of the person aimed at and cause his death or at least a severe illness. In this way a bone is sent or a bit of stone, a needle, a penknife, hairs, lead, iron, leather, wax, etc.

This witchcraft is chiefly the business of Chinese wizards or of Shans; rare are the Kachins who know how to produce or to heal it. They, however, in many cases believe themselves to be victims of a Lawng and then to rid themselves of it they get themselves treated by alien jugglers.

4. Phyi

The phyi, as it is remembered, is the seventh soul of certain persons, which may be called wizards. This minla is held to be a very bad sprite, of which the one that owns it can make use to do harm to the neighbour; but in most cases it follows its own whim, and unknown to

its master makes many victims among men and animals. It chiefly attacks the heart and the liver and produces violent pains that easily bring on death. Therefore its evil influence is much dreaded. People avoid even to talk about the phyi or to mention that name of which the sprite itself is ashamed : when they have to talk of it, they call it by a more decent name : tamum, mayun or ningsin Nat. They often imagine themselves to be bitten by a phyi.

To expel it, a dumsa sacrifices a pig near the house or in the wood.

The phyi can turn itself into a mouse, lasawp, or a worm, tungtai tungpra. Under the shape of lasawp, it enters the body, devours it by bits and causes death if it attacks the heart. It does not like to be called lasawp. Therefore he who thinks he is its victim, takes good care not to call it by this name ; the little creature would hear it and bite the harder ; but they speak of it under the nickname of yu, rats, and in secret they eat a kind of root, yu tsi, medicine for rats, which has the property of sending it away. If it tarries to go, the priest exorcises it with presents. When the phyi takes the form of worm, it only causes abscesses which are treated by means of magic formulas, mandan, and shrub leaves.

The person that has a phyi communicates it to his partner and to all the children. This is why the wizard families are rather common, someone or other is found in nearly each village. They are carefully shunned and people regret that under the English régime they may no longer rid themselves of them by murder or by selling them far away.

5. Kusa and Kausut

There are many Kachins who are the owners of the residence of small spells, the chief ones of which are : Kusa or gawsa, and kausut or shapawt. These parasites act independently of their owners and pass from the

parents on to the children; they can leave their residence, go and cause skin diseases only; kusa produces itchings and small pimples; kausut, tumours and abscesses. As a means for their riddance, no dumsa is needed. It is enough to have a little saliva of the individual, who is under the spell, applied to the sore part. If the owner is not found out, they offer the tiny visitor on the sore itself and wrapped up in a leaf a little tobacco, lime and other ingredients which enter into the composition of a good sized quid; often they add a little rice, eggs, threads of various colours, etc. They pray to the vagabond to go back to his patron and a person accompanies him as far as the principal road. There he attaches to a brush wood leaf or deposits on the side of the road a quid and other gifts and wishes the little mischief-maker a happy journey.

CHAPTER III

NATURAL DISEASES

There are some diseases attributed at first to the Nats; when after going through the ordinary sacrifices there is no cure, it is understood that they are not the doings of the sprites and recourse is taken to particular remedies. There are others which are not imputed to the Nats and are treated at once in a special manner, but if a good result is slow in coming, they do not fail to apply at least to the domestic sprites and to send them to the land of the sun to find more efficacious remedies. The principal illnesses that do not arise from the Nats or from witchcraft are :

1st A kind of diarrhœa accompanied with vomitings, called sawng kun;
2nd Constipation, tawng kat;
3rd Swelling of the spleen, kanpat machyi;
4th Malaria, ara or khali;
5th Goitre, dubawng;
6th Intestinal worms, kajin kai;
7th Syphilis, kalanggyi;
8th Scabies.

1. Diarrhœa

They explain diarrhœa by saying that a mistake was made in the eating of food not well cooked or spoiled; as a cure they scrape the belt of the pants, the feet and other filthy parts of the body; with the matter thus obtained, a broth is prepared to which they still add infants' or hens' excrements, the whole stuff is swallowed and the illness in disgust hastens to go. A similar remedy is also used against cholera and dysentery.

2. Constipation

A great number have no explanation for it : according to some it comes from the corruption of the blood. It is treated with decoctions of leaves or bitter roots.

3. Swelling of the Spleen

This is put down to over-sweet food and made to go by eating bitter leaves. Often enough they plaster the place with musk and other ingredients and set fire to it.

4. Malaria

This is caused by a germ or little worm, kanu, which lives in the water, with the crab for company and the kashun, a sort of aquatic herb, for food. If one has malaria, it is because he drank water containing that insect. To get rid of it, they offer it through a priest some leaves of kashun and a like crab which is set free and acts as a guide for it to get back to the water, its favourite domicile.

5. Goitre

Its origin and the way to dispel it are unknown.

6. Worms

They have no explanation ; most of the little children are full of them. They are delivered of them by draughts of bitter leaves or bitter barks, but by preference with santonine, since it got to be known.

7. Syphilis

According to the old people, it was a disease well nigh unknown before the English occupation. The Kachins pretend to have contracted it in the plains from their

contact with the Burmese. It is at present rather spread on the mountains, and according to Mr. Rae, the Governor of this region, it spreads from day to day.

8. Scabies and Leprosy

Scabies, leprosy and other diseases of the kind are caused by a germ, kanu, which develops and for ever spreads; if they fail to destroy it, they kill it or try to with all sorts of drugs and in particular with an ointment of pig's fat and gunpowder.

CHAPTER IV

WOUNDS, BITES, BURNS, SPRAINS AND FRACTURES

These ills, the first ones chiefly, are very frequent. Rarely is a Kachin found without some wound, almost always envenomed through bad nursing. All these cases are principally treated by magic formulas, mandan, and the application of brush leaves pounded together; special medicines are added according to the accident and naturally the end is to have recourse to the domestic Nats, chiefly if there happens to be close by a dumsa who is fond of good meals.

1. Wounds

In the case of hæmorrhage, it is attributed to a lasa, and a dumsa exorcises it with some hens and a dog. They also believe in expelling the bad sprite, by rubbing the sore with urine and other filthy things.

As a preservative against wounds, chiefly those that result from fire-arms, they wear amulets consisting of wild boar tusks, precious stones, little pebbles fallen from heaven and coming from the hatchet of thunder, etc.

2. Snake Bites

As soon as possible they bleed the bitten place and rub it with opium.

3. Dog Bites

Some hairs of the animal that bit are applied to the wound.

4. Burns

The burnt part is rubbed with the excrements of a boa or with the fat of a dog, leopard, etc.

5. Sprains

They are shampooed and heated leaves are applied.

6. Fractures

A specialist is called in who chiefly uses witchcraft formulas.

CHAPTER V

SURGERY

The surgical operations are neither numerous nor complicated. The chief and perhaps the only ones are: 1. Bleeding; 2. Piercing of the ears; 3. Opening of abscesses; 4. Incision of the navel.

1. Bleeding

Bleeding is very frequent. It is practised in cases of violent headaches, inveterate wounds, snake bites, rheumatic pains, swellings coming from blows or from dropsy, etc. When they want to bleed, they first apply to the part they wish to relieve a small pneumatic horn about four inches long; they draw out the interior air through a tiny little opening on the top, which is closed up immediately with a little wax when they think that the blood is agglomerated enough, the horn is taken away and the bleeding is done generally by a piece of broken glass or porcelain fixed solidly to the end of a little stick. It is held in one hand and with the other they strike one or several hard blows.

Again the pneumatic horn is adapted, a vacuum is caused and the horn is allowed to fill with blood. They repeat the operation until they judge the bleeding to be sufficient; for want of a horn they use a piece of bamboo without a hole on top, they heat it to dilate the inside air and make it adhere in that manner without the need of aspiration.

2. Piercing of the Ears

The ears are pierced with a needle, a thorn or the point of a bamboo. The operation takes place during winter to heal more easily and generally in the morning before the sun rises in the hope of causing less suffering. The hole is kept open by passing immediately a little

thread through it and it is made larger little by little by adding blades of grass or bits of cloth or of bamboo. For all girls the conches are perforated first at the age of 10 or 12 months, then the lobes at about 8 or 10 years; some boys keep their ears intact. Most of them, between 10 and 14 years of age, perforate only the left lobe.

3. Opening of Abscesses

Abscesses are opened with a needle or the point of a bamboo. The patient submits easily to the operation and often does it himself.

4. Incision of the Navel

The incision of the navel-string is always done with a bamboo blade and with two ligatures of thread. That of the girls is cut at 3 or 4 fingers' breadth, that of the boys at a knee's length.